THE HISTORY OF AMERICA.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA.

BOOK VI.

FROM the time that Nugnez de Balboa discovered the great Southern Ocean, and received the first obscure hints concerning the opulent countries with which it might open a communication, the wishes and schemes of every enterprising person in the colonies of Darien and Panama were turned towards the wealth of those unknown regions. In an age when the spirit of adventure was so ardent and vigorous, that large fortunes were wasted, and the most alarming dangers braved, in pursuit of discoveries merely possible, the faintest ray of hope was followed with eager expectation, and the slightest information was sufficient to inspire such perfect confidence, as conducted men to the most arduous undertakings [a].

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1523. Schemes for discovering Peru.

[a] See NOTE I.

BOOK VI. 1523. Unsuccessful for some time.

ACCORDINGLY, several armaments were fitted out in order to explore and take possession of the countries to the east of Panama, but under the conduct of leaders whose talents and resources were unequal to the attempt[b]. As the excursions of those adventurers did not extend beyond the limits of the province to which the Spaniards have given the name of Tierra Firmè, a mountainous region covered with woods, thinly inhabited, and extremely unhealthy, they returned with dismal accounts concerning the distresses to which they had been exposed, and the unpromising aspect of the places which they had visited. Damped by these tidings, the rage for discovery in that direction abated; and it became the general opinion, that Balboa had founded visionary hopes, on the tale of an ignorant Indian, ill understood, or calculated to deceive.

Undertaken by Pizarro Almagro, and Luque.

BUT there were three persons settled in Panama, on whom the circumstances which deterred others made so little impression, that, at the very moment when all considered Balboa's expectations of discovering a rich country, by steering towards the east, as chimerical, they resolved to attempt the execution of his scheme. The names of those extraordinary men were Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luque. Pizarro was the natural son of a gentleman of an honourable

[b] Calancha Coronica, p. 100.

family

family by a very low woman, and, according to the cruel fate which often attends the offspring of unlawful love, had been ſo totally neglected in his youth by the author of his birth, that he ſeems to have deſtined him never to riſe beyond the condition of his mother. In conſequence of this ungenerous idea, he ſet him, when bordering on manhood, to keep hogs. But the aſpiring mind of young Pizarro diſdaining that ignoble occupation, he abruptly abandoned his charge, enliſted as a ſoldier, and, after ſerving ſome years in Italy, embarked for America, which, by opening ſuch a boundleſs range to active talents, allured every adventurer whoſe fortune was not equal to his ambitious thoughts. There Pizarro early diſtinguiſhed himſelf. With a temper of mind no leſs daring than the conſtitution of his body was robuſt, he was foremoſt in every danger, patient under the greateſt hardſhips, and unſubdued by any fatigue. Though ſo illiterate that he could not even read, he was ſoon conſidered as a man formed to command. Every operation committed to his conduct proved ſucceſsful, as, by a happy but rare conjunction, he united perſeverance with ardour, and was as cautious in executing, as he was bold in forming his plans. By engaging early in active life, without any reſource but his own talents and induſtry, and by depending on himſelf alone in his ſtruggles to emerge from obſcurity, he acquired ſuch a thorough knowledge of affairs, and of men, that he was fitted to aſſume a ſuperior part

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in conducting the former, and in governing the latter [e].

ALMAGRO had as little to boaſt of his deſcent as Pizarro. The one was a baſtard, the other a foundling. Bred, like his companion, in the camp, he yielded not to him in any of the ſoldierly qualities of intrepid valour, indefatigable activity, or inſurmountable conſtancy in enduring the hardſhips inſeparable from military ſervice in the New World. But in Almagro theſe virtues were accompanied with the openneſs, generoſity, and candour, natural to men whoſe profeſſion is arms; in Pizarro, they were united with the addreſs, the craft, and the diſſimulation of a politician, with the art of concealing his own purpoſes, and with ſagacity to penetrate into thoſe of other men.

HERNANDO DE LUQUE was an eccleſiaſtic, who acted both as prieſt and ſchoolmaſter at Panama, and, by means which the contemporary writers have not deſcribed, had amaſſed riches that inſpired him with thoughts of riſing to greater eminence.

Terms of their aſſociation.

SUCH were the men deſtined to overturn one of the moſt extenſive empires on the face of the earth. Their confederacy for this purpoſe was

[e] Herrera, dec. 1 & 2, paſſim. dec. iv. lib. vi. c. 107. Gomara Hiſt. c. 144. Zarate, lib. iv. c. 9.

authoriſed

authoriſed by Pedrarias, the governor of Panama. BOOK VI. 1524.
Each engaged to employ his whole fortune in the adventure. Pizarro, the leaſt wealthy of the three, as he could not throw ſo large a ſum as his aſſociates into the common ſtock, engaged to take the department of greateſt fatigue and danger, and to command in perſon the armament which was to go firſt upon diſcovery. Almagro offered to conduct the ſupplies of proviſions and reinforcements of troops, of which Pizarro might ſtand in need. Luque was to remain at Panama to negociate with the governor, and ſuperintend whatever was carrying on for the general intereſt. As the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm uniformly accompanied that of adventure in the New World, and by that ſtrange union both acquired an increaſe of force, this confederacy, formed by ambition and avarice, was confirmed by the moſt ſolemn act of religion. Luque celebrated maſs, divided a conſecrated hoſt into three, and reſerving one part to himſelf, gave the other two to his aſſociates, of which they partook; and thus, in name of the Prince of Peace, ratified a contract of which plunder and bloodſhed were the objects[d].

Their firſt attempt.

The attempt was begun with a force more ſuited to the humble condition of the three aſſociates, than to the greatneſs of the enterpriſe in which they were engaged. Pizarro ſet ſail from Panama with Nov. 14.

[d] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. vi. c. 13. Zarate, lib. i. c. 1.

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a ſingle veſſel, of ſmall burden, and a hundred and twelve men. But in that age, ſo little were the Spaniards acquainted with the peculiarities of climate in America, that the time which Pizarro choſe for his departure was the moſt improper in the whole year; the periodical winds, which were then ſet in, being directly adverſe to the courſe

1525.

which he purpoſed to ſteer [e]. After beating about for ſeventy days, with much danger and inceſſant fatigue, Pizarro's progreſs towards the ſouth-eaſt was not greater than what a ſkilful navigator will now make in as many hours. He touched at ſeveral places on the coaſt of Tierra Firmè, but found every where the ſame uninviting country which former adventurers had deſcribed; the low grounds converted into ſwamps by the overflowing of rivers; the higher, covered with impervious woods; few inhabitants, and thoſe fierce and hoſtile. Famine, fatigue, frequent rencounters with the natives, and above all, the diſtempers of a moiſt, ſultry climate, combined in waſting his

Attended with little ſucceſs.

ſlender band of followers. The undaunted reſolution of their leader continued, however, for ſome time, to ſuſtain their ſpirits, although no ſign had yet appeared of diſcovering thoſe golden regions to which he had promiſed to conduct them. At length, he was obliged to abandon that inhoſpitable coaſt, and retire to Chuchama, oppoſite to

[e] Herrera, dec. 4. lib. ii. c. 8. Xerez, p. 179.

the

the pearl iſlands, where he hoped to receive a ſupply of proviſions and troops from Panama. BOOK VI. 1525.

But Almagro having ſailed from that port with ſeventy men, ſtood directly towards that part of the continent where he hoped to meet with his aſſociate. Not finding him there, he landed his ſoldiers, who, in ſearching for their companions, underwent the ſame diſtreſſes, and were expoſed to the ſame dangers, which had driven them out of the country. Repulſed at length by the Indians in a ſharp conflict, in which their leader loſt one of his eyes by the wound of an arrow, they likewiſe were compelled to reimbark. Chance led them to the place of Pizarro's retreat, where they found ſome conſolation in recounting to each other their adventures, and comparing their ſufferings. As Almagro had advanced as far as the river St. Juan, June 24. in the Province of Popayan, where both the country and inhabitants appeared with a more promiſing aſpect, that dawn of better fortune was ſufficient to determine ſuch ſanguine projectors not to abandon their ſcheme, notwithſtanding all that they had ſuffered in proſecuting it[f].

Almagro repaired to Panama, in hopes of recruiting their ſhattered troops. But what he and Pizarro had ſuffered, gave his countrymen ſuch an unfavourable idea of the ſervice, that it was with

1526. They reſume the undertaking.

[f] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. viii. c. 11, 12. See NOTE II.

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difficulty he could levy fourſcore men[g]. Feeble as this reinforcement was, they did not heſitate about reſuming their operations. After a long ſeries of diſaſters and diſappointments, not inferior to thoſe which they had already experienced, part of the armament reached the Bay of St. Matthew, on the coaſt of Quito, and landing at Tacamez, to the ſouth of the river of Emeraulds, they beheld a country more champaign and fertile than any they had yet diſcovered in the Southern Ocean, the natives clad in garments of woollen or cotton ſtuff, and adorned with ſeveral trinkets of gold and ſilver.

But, notwithſtanding thoſe favourable appearances, magnified beyond the truth, both by the vanity of the perſons who brought the report from Tacamez, and by the fond imagination of thoſe who liſtened to them, Pizarro and Almagro durſt not venture to invade a country ſo populous with a handful of men enfeebled by fatigue and diſeaſes. They retired to the ſmall iſland of Gallo, where Pizarro remained with part of the troops, and his aſſociate returned to Panama, in hopes of bringing ſuch a reinforcement, as might enable them to take poſſeſſion of the opulent territories, whoſe exiſtence ſeemed to be no longer doubtful[h].

[g] Zarate, lib. i. c. 1.

[h] Xerez, 181. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. viii. c. 13.

1526.
Pizarro recalled by the governor of Panama.

But ſome of the adventurers, leſs enterpriſing, or leſs hardy than their leaders, having ſecretly conveyed lamentable accounts of their ſufferings and loſſes to their friends at Panama, Almagro met with an unfavourable reception from Pedro de los Rios, who had ſucceeded Pedrarias in the government of that ſettlement. After weighing the matter with that cold œconomical prudence which appears the firſt of all virtues to perſons whoſe limited faculties are incapable of conceiving or executing great deſigns, he concluded an expedition, attended with ſuch certain waſte of men, to be ſo detrimental to an infant and feeble colony, that he not only prohibited the raiſing of new levies, but diſpatched a veſſel to bring home Pizarro and his companions from the iſland of Gallo. Almagro and Luque, though deeply affected with thoſe meaſures, which they could not prevent, and durſt not oppoſe, found means of communicating their ſentiments privately to Pizarro, and exhorted him not to relinquiſh an enterpriſe that was the foundation of all their hopes, and the only means of re-eſtabliſhing their reputation and fortune, which were both on the decline. Pizarro's mind, bent with inflexible obſtinacy on all its purpoſes, needed no incentive to perſiſt in the ſcheme. He peremptorily refuſed to obey the governor of Panama's orders, and employed all his addreſs and eloquence in perſuading his men not to abandon him: But the incredible calamities to which they had been expoſed were ſtill ſo recent in their memories, and

Perſiſts in his deſign.

BOOK VI. 1526. and the thoughts of revifiting their families and friends after a long abfence, rufhed with fuch joy into their minds, that when Pizarro drew a line upon the fand with his fword, permitting fuch as wifhed to return home to pafs over it, only thirteen of all the daring veterans in his fervice had refolution to remain with their commander[i].

THIS fmall, but determined band, whofe names the Spanifh hiftorians record with deferved praife, as the perfons to whofe perfevering fortitude their country is indebted for the moft valuable of all its American poffeffions, fixed their refidence in the ifland of Gorgona. This, as it was farther removed from the coaft than Gallo, and uninhabited, they confidered as a more fecure retreat, where, unmolefted, they might wait for fupplies from Panama, which they trufted that the activity of their affociates would be able to procure. Almagro and Luque were not inattentive or cold folicitors, and their inceffant importunity was feconded by the general voice of the colony, which exclaimed loudly againft the infamy of expofing brave men, engaged in the public fervice, and chargeable with no error but what flowed from an excefs of zeal and courage, to perifh like the moft odious criminals in a defert ifland. Overcome by thofe entreaties and expoftulations, the governor at laft confented to fend a fmall veffel to their relief. But

[i] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. x. c. 2, 3. Zarate, lib. i. c. 2. Xerez, 181. Gomara Hift. c. 109.

that he might not ſeem to encourage Pizarro to any new enterpriſe, he would not permit one landman to embark on board of it.

Hardſhips he endured.

By this time, Pizarro and his companions had remained five months in an iſland, infamous for the moſt unhealthy climate in that region of America[k]. During all this period, their eyes were turned towards Panama, in hopes of ſuccour from their countrymen; but worn out at length with fruitleſs expectations, and diſpirited with ſuffering hardſhips of which they ſaw no end, they, in deſpair, came to a reſolution of committing themſelves to the ocean on a float, rather than continue in that deteſtable abode. But, on the arrival of the veſſel from Panama, they were tranſported with ſuch joy, that all their ſufferings were forgotten. Their hopes revived, and, with a rapid tranſition, not unnatural among men accuſtomed by their mode of life to ſudden viciſſitudes of fortune, high confidence ſucceeding to extreme dejection, Pizarro eaſily induced not only his own followers, but the crew of the veſſel from Panama, to reſume his former ſcheme with freſh ardour. Inſtead of returning to Panama, they ſtood towards the ſouth-eaſt, and more fortunate in this than in any of their paſt efforts, they, on the twentieth day after their departure from Gorgona, diſcovered the coaſt of Peru. After touching at ſeveral villages on the

Diſcovers Peru.

[k] See NOTE III.

coaſt

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coaſt no wiſe inviting, they landed at Tumbez, a place of ſome note, about three degrees ſouth of the line, diſtinguiſhed for its ſtately temple, and a palace of the *Incas* or ſovereigns of the country [1]. There the Spaniards feaſted their eyes with the firſt view of the opulence and civilization of the Peruvian empire. They beheld a country fully peopled, and cultivated with an appearance of regular induſtry; the natives decently clothed, and poſſeſſed of ingenuity ſo far ſurpaſſing the other inhabitants of the New World, as to have the uſe of tame domeſtic animals. But what chiefly attracted their notice, was ſuch a ſhow of gold and ſilver, not only in the ornaments of their perſons and temples, but in ſeveral veſſels and utenſils for common uſe, formed of the ſame precious metals, as left no room to doubt that theſe abounded with profuſion in the country. Pizarro and his companions ſeemed now to have attained to the completion of their moſt ſanguine hopes, and fancied that all their wiſhes and dreams of rich domains, and inexhauſtible treaſures, would ſoon be realized.

Returns to Panama.

But with the ſlender force then under his command, Pizarro could only view the rich country of which he hoped hereafter to obtain poſſeſſion. He ranged, however, for ſome time along the coaſt, maintaining every where a peaceable intercourſe with the natives, no leſs aſtoniſhed at their new

[1] Calancha, p. 103.

viſitants,

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viſitants, than the Spaniards were with the uniform appearance of opulence and cultivation which they beheld. Having explored the country as far as was requiſite to aſcertain the importance of the diſcovery, Pizarro procured from the inhabitants ſome of their *Llamas* or tame cattle, to which the Spaniards gave the name of ſheep, ſome veſſels of gold and ſilver, as well as ſome ſpecimens of their other works of ingenuity, and two young men, whom he propoſed to inſtruct in the Caſtilian language, that they might ſerve as interpreters in the expedition which he meditated. With theſe he arrived at Panama, towards the cloſe of the third year from the time of his departure thence [m]. No adventurer of the age ſuffered hardſhips or encountered dangers which equal thoſe to which he was expoſed during this long period. The patience with which he endured the one, and the fortitude with which he ſurmounted the other, exceed whatever is recorded in the hiſtory of the New World, where ſo many romantic diſplays of thoſe virtues occur.

1528. New ſchemes of the aſſociates.

NEITHER the ſplendid relation that Pizarro gave of the incredible opulence of the country which he had diſcovered, nor his bitter complaints on account of that unſeaſonable recal of his forces, which had put it out of his power to attempt making any

[m] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. x. c. 3—6. dec. 4. lib. ii. c. 7, 8. Vega, 2. lib. i. c. 10—14. Zarate, lib. i. c. 2. Benzo Hiſt. Novi Orbis, lib. iii. c. 1.

ſettlement

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ſettlement there, could move the governor of Panama to ſwerve from his former purpoſe. He ſtill contended, that the colony was not in a condition to invade ſuch a mighty empire, and refuſed to authoriſe an expedition which he foreſaw would be ſo alluring that it might ruin the province in which he preſided, by an effort beyond its ſtrength. His coldneſs, however, did not in any degree abate the ardour of the three aſſociates; but they perceived that they could not carry their ſcheme into execution without the countenance of ſuperior authority, and muſt ſolicit their ſovereign to grant that permiſſion which they could not extort from his delegate. With this view, after adjuſting among themſelves that Pizarro ſhould claim the ſtation of governor, Almagro that of lieutenant-governor, and Luque the dignity of biſhop in the country which they purpoſed to conquer, they ſent Pizarro as their agent to Spain, though their fortunes were now ſo much exhauſted by the repeated efforts which they had made, that they found ſome difficulty in borrowing the ſmall ſum requiſite towards equipping him for the voyage[a].

Pizarro ſent to Spain to negociate.

PIZARRO loſt no time in repairing to court, and new as the ſcene might be to him, he appeared before the emperor with the unembarraſſed dignity of a man conſcious of what his ſervices merited; and he conducted his negociations with an inſinuating

[a] Herrera, dec. 4. lib. iii. c. 1. Vega 2. lib. 1. c. 14.

dexterity

1528.

dexterity of addreſs, which could not have been expected either from his education or former habits of life. His feeling deſcription of his own ſufferings, and his pompous account of the country which he had diſcovered, confirmed by the ſpecimens of its productions which he exhibited, made ſuch an impreſſion both on Charles and his miniſters, that they not only approved of the intended expedition, but ſeemed to be intereſted in the ſucceſs of its leader. Preſuming on thoſe diſpoſitions in his favour, Pizarro paid little attention to the intereſt of his aſſociates. As the pretenſions of Luque did not interfere with his own, he obtained for him the eccleſiaſtical dignity to which he aſpired. For Almagro, he claimed only the command of the fortreſs which ſhould be erected at Tumbez. To himſelf he ſecured whatever his boundleſs ambition could deſire. He was appointed governor, captain-general, and adelantado of all the country which he had diſcovered, and hoped to conquer, with ſupreme authority, civil as well as military; and a full right to all the privileges and emoluments uſually granted to adventurers in the New World. His juriſdiction was declared to extend two hundred leagues along the coaſt to the ſouth of the river St. Jago; to be independent of the governor of Panama; and he had power to nominate all the officers who were to ſerve under him. In return for thoſe conceſſions, which coſt the court of Spain nothing, as the enjoyment of them depended upon the ſucceſs of Pizarro's own efforts,

Neglects his aſſociates,

July 26. and procures the ſupreme command to himſelf.

BOOK VI. 1529.

he engaged to raiſe two hundred and fifty men, and to provide the ſhips, arms, and warlike ſtores requiſite towards ſubjecting, to the crown of Caſtile, the country of which the government was allotted him.

Slender force he was able to raiſe.

INCONSIDERABLE as the body of men was which Pizarro had undertaken to raiſe, his funds and credit were ſo low that he could hardly complete half the number; and after obtaining his patents from the crown, he was obliged to ſteal privately out of the port of Seville, in order to elude the ſcrutiny of the officers who had it in charge to examine, whether he had fulfilled the ſtipulations in his contract [o]. Before his departure, however, he received ſome ſupply of money from Cortes, who having returned to Spain about this time, was willing to contribute his aid towards enabling an ancient companion, with whoſe talents and courage he was well acquainted, to begin a career of glory ſimilar to that which he himſelf had finiſhed [p].

HE landed at Nombre de Dios, and marched acroſs the iſthmus to Panama, accompanied by his three brothers, Ferdinand, Juan, and Gonzalo, of whom the firſt was born in lawful wedlock, the two latter, like himſelf, were of illegitimate birth, and by Franciſco de Alcantara, his mother's brother.

[o] Herrera, dec. 4. lib. vii. c. 9.

[p] Ibid. lib. vii. c. 10.

They

BOOK VI. 1529.

They were all in the prime of life, and of ſuch abilities and courage, as fitted them to take a diſtinguiſhed part in his ſubſequent tranſactions.

1530. His reconciliation with Almagro.

On his arrival at Panama, Pizarro found Almagro ſo much exaſperated at the manner in which he had conducted his negociation, that he not only refuſed to act any longer in concert with a man, by whoſe perfidy he had been excluded from the power and honours to which he had a juſt claim, but laboured to form a new aſſociation, in order to thwart or to rival his former confederate in his diſcoveries. Pizarro, however, had more wiſdom and addreſs than to ſuffer a rupture ſo fatal to all his ſchemes, to become irreparable. By offering voluntarily to relinquiſh the office of adelantado, and promiſing to concur in ſoliciting that title, with an independent government, for Almagro, he gradually mitigated the rage of an open-hearted ſoldier, which had been violent, but was not implacable. Luque, highly ſatisfied with having been ſucceſsful in all his own pretenſions, cordially ſeconded Pizarro's endeavours. A reconciliation was effected; and the confederacy renewed on its original terms, that the enterpriſe ſhould be carried on at the common expence of the aſſociates, and the profits accruing from it ſhould be equally divided among them [q].

[q] Herrera, dec. 4. lib. vii. c. 9. Zarate, lib. i. c. 3. Vega, 2. lib. i. c. 14.

BOOK VI.

1530. Their armament.

Even after their re-union, and the utmoſt efforts of their intereſt, three ſmall veſſels, with a hundred and eighty ſoldiers, thirty-ſix of whom were horſemen, compoſed the armament which they were able to fit out. But the aſtoniſhing progreſs of the Spaniards in America had inſpired them with ſuch ideas of their own ſuperiority, that Pizarro did not heſitate to ſail with this contemptible force to invade a great empire. Almagro was left at Panama, as formerly, to follow him with what reinforcement of men he ſhould be able to muſter. As the ſeaſon for embarking was properly choſen, and the courſe of navigation between Panama and Peru was now better known, Pizarro completed the voyage in thirteen days; though, by the force of the winds and currents, he was carried above a hundred leagues to the north of Tumbez, the place of his deſtination, and obliged to land his troops in the bay of St. Matthew. Without loſing a moment, he began to advance towards the ſouth, taking care, however, not to depart far from the ſea-ſhore, both that he might eaſily effect a junction with the ſupplies which he expected from Panama, and ſecure a retreat in caſe of any diſaſter, by keeping as near as poſſible to his ſhips. But as the country in ſeveral parts on the coaſt of Peru is barren, unhealthful, and thinly peopled; as the Spaniards had to paſs all the rivers near their mouth, where the body of water is greateſt; and as the imprudence of Pizarro, in attacking the na-

1531. February.

Lands in Peru.

§ tives

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tives when he ſhould have ſtudied to gain their confidence, had forced them to abandon their habitations; famine, fatigue, and diſeaſes of various kinds, brought upon him and his followers calamities hardly inferior to thoſe which they had endured in their former expedition. What they now experienced correſponded ſo ill with the alluring deſcription of the country given by Pizarro, that many began to reproach him, and every ſoldier muſt have become cold to the ſervice, if, even in this unfertile region of Peru, they had not met with ſome appearances of wealth and cultivation, which ſeemed to juſtify the report of their leader. At length they reached the province of Coaque; and, having ſurpriſed the principal ſettlement of the natives, they ſeized there veſſels and ornaments of gold and ſilver, to the amount of thirty thouſand peſos, with other booty of ſuch value, as diſpelled all their doubts, and inſpired the moſt deſponding with ſanguine hopes [r]. April 14.

His meaſures for obtaining a reinforcement.

PIZARRO himſelf was ſo much delighted with this rich ſpoil, which he conſidered as the firſt-fruits of a land abounding with treaſure, that he inſtantly diſpatched one of his ſhips to Panama with a large remittance to Almagro; and another to Nicaragua with a conſiderabe ſum to ſome perſons of influence in that province, in hopes of alluring adventurers, by this early diſplay of the

[r] Herrera, dec. 4. lib. vii. c. 9. lib. ii. c. 1. Xeres 182.

BOOK VI. 1531. wealth which he had acquired. Meanwhile, he continued his march along the coaſt, and diſdaining to employ any means of reducing the natives but force, he attacked them with ſuch violence in their ſcattered habitations, as compelled them either to retire into the interior country, or to ſubmit to his yoke. This ſudden appearance of invaders, whoſe aſpect and manners were ſo ſtrange, and whoſe power ſeemed to be ſo irreſiſtible, made the ſame dreadful impreſſion as in other parts of America. Pizarro hardly met with reſiſtance until he attacked the iſland of Puna in the bay of Guayquil. As that was better peopled than the country through which he had paſſed, and its inhabitants fiercer and leſs civilized than thoſe of the continent, they defended themſelves with ſuch obſtinate valour, that Pizarro ſpent ſix months in reducing them to ſubjection. From Puna he proceeded to Tumbez, where the diſtempers which raged among his men compelled him to remain for three months[a].

Receives ſome, and continues to advance.

While he was thus employed, he began to reap advantage from his attention, to ſpread the fame of his firſt ſucceſs at Coaque. Two different detachments arrived from Nicaragua, which, though neither exceeded thirty men, he conſiderd as a reinforcement of great conſequence to his feeble band, eſpecially as the one was under the com-

[a] P. Sancho ap. Ramuſ. iii. p. 371, F. Herrera, dec. 4. lib. vii. c. 18, lib. ix. c. 1. Zarate, lib. ii. c. 2, 3. Xeres, p. 182, &c.

mand of Sebaſtian Benalcazar, and the other of Hernando Soto, officers not inferior in merit and reputation to any who had ſerved in America. From Tumbez he proceeded to the river Piura, and in an advantageous ſtation near the mouth of it, he eſtabliſhed the firſt Spaniſh colony in Peru; to which he gave the name of St. Michael. 1532. May 16.

As Pizarro continued to advance towards the centre of the Peruvian empire, he gradually received more full information concerning its extent and policy, as well as the ſituation of its affairs at that juncture. Without ſome knowledge of theſe, he could not have conducted his operations with propriety; and without a ſuitable attention to them, it is impoſſible to account for the progreſs which the Spaniards had already made, or to unfold the cauſes of their ſubſequent ſucceſs.

At the time when the Spaniards invaded Peru, the dominions of its ſovereigns extended in length, from north to ſouth, above fifteen hundred miles along the Pacific Ocean. Its breadth, from eaſt to weſt, was much leſs conſiderable, being uniformly bounded by the vaſt ridge of the Andes, ſtretching from its one extremity to the other. Peru, like the reſt of the New World, was originally poſſeſſed by ſmall independent tribes, differing from each other in manners, and in their forms of rude policy. All, however, were ſo little civilized, that, if the traditions concerning their

State of the Peruvian empire.

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Manco Capac and Mama Ocollo, for fuch were the names of thofe extraordinary perfonages, having thus collected fome wandering tribes, formed

formed that ſocial union, which, by multiplying the deſires, and uniting the efforts of the human ſpecies, excites induſtry, and leads to improvement. Manco Capac inſtructed the men in agriculture, and other uſeful arts. Mama Ocollo taught the women to ſpin and to weave. By the labour of the one ſex, ſubſiſtence became leſs precarious; by that of the other, life was rendered more comfortable. After ſecuring the objects of firſt neceſſity in an infant ſtate, by providing food, raiment, and habitations, for the rude people of whom he took charge, Manco Capac turned his attention towards introducing ſuch laws and policy as might perpetuate their happineſs. By his inſtitutions, which ſhall be more particularly explained hereafter, the various relations in private life were eſtabliſhed, and the duties reſulting from them preſcribed with ſuch propriety, as gradually formed a barbarous people to decency of manners. In public adminiſtration, the functions of perſons in authority were ſo preciſely defined, and the ſubordination of thoſe under their juriſdiction maintained with ſuch a ſteady hand, that the ſociety in which he preſided, ſoon aſſumed the aſpect of a regular and well-governed ſtate.

Thus, according to the Indian tradition, was founded the empire of the *Incas* or *Lords* of Peru. At firſt, its extent was ſmall. The territory of Manco Capac did not reach above eight leagues from Cuzco. But within its narrow precincts he

BOOK VI. 1532. exercised absolute and uncontrolled authority. His successors, as their dominions expanded, arrogated a similar jurisdiction over their subjects: the despotism of Asia was not more complete. The Incas were not only obeyed as monarchs, but revered as divinities. Their blood was held to be sacred, and, by prohibiting intermarriages with the people, was never contaminated by mixing with that of any other race. The family, thus separated from the rest of the nation, was distinguished by peculiarities in dress and ornaments, which it was unlawful for others to assume. The monarch himself appeared with ensigns of royalty reserved for him alone; and received from his subjects marks of obsequious homage and respect, which approached almost to adoration.

But, among the Peruvians, this unbounded power of their monarchs seems to have been uniformly accompanied with attention to the good of their subjects. It was not the rage of conquest, if we may believe the accounts of their countrymen, that prompted the Incas to extend their dominions, but the desire of diffusing the blessings of civilization, and the knowledge of the arts which they possessed, among the barbarous people whom they reduced. During a succession of twelve monarchs, it is said that not one deviated from this beneficent character[t].

[t] Cieca de Leon, Chron. c. 44. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. x. c. 4. dec. 5, lib. iii, c. 17.

WHEN

When the Spaniards firſt viſited the coaſt of Peru, in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſix, Huana Capac, the twelfth monarch from the founder of the ſtate, was ſeated on the throne. He is repreſented as a prince diſtinguiſhed not only for the pacific virtues peculiar to the race, but eminent for his martial talents. By his victorious arms the kingdom of Quito was ſubjected, a conqueſt of ſuch extent and importance as almoſt doubled the power of the Peruvian empire. He was fond of reſiding in the capital of that valuable province, which he had added to his dominions; and, notwithſtanding the ancient and fundamental law of the monarchy againſt polluting the royal blood by any foreign alliance, he married the daughter of the vanquiſhed monarch of Quito. She bore him a ſon named Atahualpa, whom, on his death at Quito, which ſeems to have happened about the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-nine, he appointed his ſucceſſor in that kingdom, leaving the reſt of his dominions to Huaſcar, his eldeſt ſon, by a mother of the royal race. Greatly as the Peruvians revered the memory of a monarch who had reigned with more reputation and ſplendour than any of his predeceſſors, the deſtination of Huana Capac concerning the ſucceſſion, appeared ſo repugnant to a maxim coeval with the empire, and founded on authority deemed ſacred, that it was no ſooner known at Cuzco than it excited general diſguſt. Encouraged by

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by thoſe ſentiments of his ſubjects, Huaſcar required his brother to renounce the government of Quito, and to acknowledge him as his lawful ſuperior. But it had been the firſt care of Atahualpa to gain a large body of troops which had accompanied his father to Quito. Theſe were the flower of the Peruvian warriors, to whoſe valour Huana Capac had been indebted for all his victories. Relying on their ſupport, Atahualpa firſt eluded his brother's demand, and then marched againſt him in hoſtile array.

Thus the ambition of two young men, the title of the one founded on ancient uſage, and that of the other aſſerted by the veteran troops, involved Peru in civil war, a calamity to which, under a ſucceſſion of virtuous princes, it had hitherto been a ſtranger. In ſuch a conteſt the iſſue was obvious. The force of arms triumphed over the authority of laws. Atahualpa remained victorious, and made a cruel uſe of his victory. Conſcious of the defect in his own title to the crown, he attempted to exterminate the royal race, by putting to death all the children of the Sun deſcended from Manco Capac, whom he could ſeize either by force or ſtratagem. From a political motive, the life of his unfortunate rival Huaſcar, who had been taken priſoner in the battle which decided the fate of the empire, was prolonged for ſome time, that, by iſſuing orders in his name, the uſurper

ufurper might more eafily eftablifh his own authority [u].

Favourable to the progrefs of Pizarro.

When Pizarro landed in the bay of St. Matthew, this civil war raged between the two brothers in its greateft fury. Had he made any hoftile attempt in his former vifit to Peru in the year one thoufand five hundred and twenty-feven, he muft then have encountered the force of a powerful ftate, united under a monarch, poffeffed of capacity as well as courage, and unembarraffed with any care that could divert him from oppofing his progrefs. But at this time, the two competitors, though they received early accounts of the arrival and violent proceedings of the Spaniards, were fo intent upon the operations of a war, which they deemed more interefting, that they paid no attention to the motions of an enemy, too inconfiderable in number to excite any great alarm, and to whofe career, it would be eafy, as they imagined, to give a check when more at leifure.

He avails himfelf of it, and advances.

By this fortunate coincidence of events, whereof Pizarro could have no forefight, and of which, from his defective mode of intercourfe with the people of the country, he remained long ignorant, he was permitted to carry on his operations unmolefted, and advanced to the centre of a great empire before one effort of its power was exerted

[u] Zarate, lib. i. c. 15. Vega, 1. lib. ix. c. 12 and 32—40. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. i. c. 2. lib. iii. c. 17.

to

BOOK VI. 1532. to ſtop his career. During their progreſs, the Spaniards had acquired ſome imperfect knowledge of this ſtruggle between the two contending factions. The firſt complete information, with reſpect to it, they received from meſſengers whom Huaſcar ſent to Pizarro, in order to ſolicit his aid againſt Atahualpa, whom he repreſented as a rebel and an uſurper[u]. Pizarro perceived at once the importance of this intelligence, and foreſaw ſo clearly all the advantages which might be derived from this divided ſtate of the kingdom, which he had invaded, that, without waiting for the reinforcement which he expected from Panama, he determined to puſh forward, while inteſtine diſcord put it out of the power of the Peruvians to attack him with their whole force, and while, by taking part, as circumſtances ſhould incline him, with one of the competitors, he might be enabled with greater eaſe to cruſh both. Enterpriſing as the Spaniards of that age were in all their operations againſt Americans, and diſtinguiſhed as Pizarro was among his countrymen for daring courage, we can hardly ſuppoſe, that after having proceeded hitherto ſlowly, and with much caution, he would have changed at once his ſyſtem of operation, and have ventured upon a meaſure ſo hazardous, without ſome new motive or proſpect to juſtify it.

State of his forces. As he was obliged to divide his troops, in order to leave a garriſon in St. Michael, ſufficient

[u] Zarate, lib. ii. c. 3.

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to defend a ſtation of equal importance as a place of retreat in caſe of any diſaſter, and as a port for receiving any ſupplies which ſhould come from Panama, he began his march with a very ſlender and ill accoutred train of followers. They conſiſted of ſixty-two horſemen [x], and a hundred and two foot-ſoldiers, of whom twenty were armed with croſs-bows, and three with muſkets. He directed his courſe towards Caxamalca, a ſmall town at the diſtance of twelve days march from St. Michael, where Atahualpa was encamped with a conſiderable body of troops. Before he had proceeded far, an officer diſpatched by the Inca met him with a valuable preſent from that prince, accompanied with a proffer of his alliance, and aſſurances of a friendly reception at Caxamalca. Pizarro, according to the uſual artifice of his countrymen in America, pretended to come as the ambaſſador of a very powerful monarch, and declared that he was now advancing with an intention to offer Atahualpa his aid againſt thoſe enemies who diſputed his title to the throne [y].

Ideas of the Peruvians concerning their deſigns.

As the object of the Spaniards in entering their country was altogether incomprehenſible to the Peruvians, they had formed various conjectures concerning it, without being able to decide whether they ſhould conſider their new gueſts as beings of a ſuperior nature, who had viſited them from

[x] See NOTE IV.

[y] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. i. c. 3. Xerez, p. 189.

ſome

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ſome beneficent motive, or as formidable avengers of their crimes, and enemies to their repoſe and liberty. The continual profeſſions of the Spaniards, that they came to enlighten them with the knowledge of truth, and lead them in the way of happineſs, favoured the former opinion; the outrages which the committed, their rapaciouſneſs and cruelty, were awful confirmations of the latter. While in this ſtate of uncertainty, Pizarro's declaration of his pacific intentions ſo far removed all the Inca's fears, that he determined to give him a friendly reception. In conſequence of this reſolution, the Spaniards were allowed to march in tranquillity acroſs the ſandy deſert between St. Michael and Motupè, where the moſt feeble effort of an enemy, added to the unavoidable diſtreſſes which they ſuffered in paſſing through that comfortleſs region, muſt have proved fatal to them [a]. From Motupè they advanced towards the mountains which encompaſſed the low country of Peru, and paſſed through a defile ſo narrow and inacceſſible, that a few men might have defended it againſt a numerous army. But here likewiſe, from the ſame inconſiderate credulity of the Inca, the Spaniards met with no oppoſition, and took quiet poſſeſſion of a fort erected for the ſecurity of that important ſtation. As they now approached near to Caxamalca, Atahualpa renewed his profeſſions of friendſhip; and as an evidence of their ſincerity,

[a] See NOTE V.

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rity, ſent them preſents of greater value than the former.

Arrive at Caxamalca.

On entering Caxamalca, Pizarro took poſſeſſion of a large court, on one ſide of which was a houſe which the Spaniſh hiſtorians call a palace of the Inca, and on the other a temple of the Sun, the whole ſurrounded with a ſtrong rampart or wall of earth. When he had poſted his troops in this advantageous ſtation, he diſpatched Hernando Soto, and his brother Ferdinand, to the camp of Atahualpa, which was about a league diſtant from the town. He inſtructed them to confirm the declaration which he had formerly made of his pacific diſpoſition, and to deſire an interview with the Inca, that he might explain more fully the intention of the Spaniards in viſiting his country. They were treated with all the reſpectful hoſpitality uſual among the Peruvians in the reception of their moſt cordial friends, and Atahualpa promiſed to viſit the Spaniſh commander next day in his quarters. The decent deportment of the Peruvian monarch, the order of his court, and the reverence with which his ſubjects approached his perſon and obeyed his commands, aſtoniſhed thoſe Spaniards, who had never met in America with any thing more dignified than the petty cazique of a barbarous tribe. But their eyes were ſtill more powerfully attracted by the vaſt profuſion of wealth which they obſerved in the Inca's camp. The rich ornaments worn by him and his attendants, the veſſels of gold and ſilver in which

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which the repaſt offered to them was ſerved up, the multitude of utenſils of every kind formed of thoſe precious metals, opened proſpects far exceeding any idea of opulence that a European of the ſixteenth century could form.

Perfidious ſcheme of Pizarro.

On their return to Caxamalca, while their minds were yet warm with admiration and deſire of the wealth which they had beheld, they gave ſuch a deſcription of it to their countrymen, as confirmed Pizarro in a reſolution which he had already taken. From his own obſervation of American manners during his long ſervice in the New World, as well as from the advantages which Cortes had derived from ſeizing Montezuma, he knew of what conſequence it was to have the Inca in his power. For this purpoſe, he formed a plan as daring as it was perfidious. Notwithſtanding the character he had aſſumed of an ambaſſador from a powerful monarch, who courted an alliance with the Inca, and in violation of the repeated offers which he had made to him of his own friendſhip and aſſiſtance, he determined to avail himſelf of the unſuſpicious ſimplicity with which Atahualpa relied on his profeſſions, and to ſeize the perſon of the Inca during the interview to which he had invited him. He prepared for the execution of his ſcheme with the ſame deliberate arrangement, and with as little compunction, as if it had reflected no diſgrace on himſelf or his country. He divided his cavalry into three ſmall ſquadrons, under the command of his

his brother Ferdinand, Soto, and Benalcazar; his infantry were formed in one body, except twenty of moſt tried courage, whom he kept near his own perſon to ſupport him in the dangerous ſervice which he reſerved for himſelf; the artillery, conſiſting of two field-pieces [a] and the croſs-bowmen, were placed oppoſite to the avenue by which Atahualpa was to approach. All were commanded to keep within the ſquare, and not to move until the ſignal for action was given.

Nov. 16. Viſited by the Inca.

EARLY in the morning the Peruvian camp was all in motion. But as Atahualpa was ſolicitous to appear with the greateſt ſplendour and magnificence in his firſt interview with the ſtrangers, the preparations for this were ſo tedious, that the day was far advanced before he began his march. Even then, leſt the order of the proceſſion ſhould be deranged, he moved ſo ſlowly, that the Spaniards became impatient and apprehenſive that ſome ſuſpicion of their intention might be the cauſe of this delay. In order to remove this, Pizarro diſpatched one of his officers with freſh aſſurances of his friendly diſpoſition. At length the Inca approached. Firſt of all appeared four hundred men, in an uniform dreſs, as harbingers to clear the way before him. He himſelf, ſitting on a throne or couch, adorned with plumes of various colours, and almoſt covered with plates of gold

[a] Xerez, p. 194.

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and ſilver enriched with precious ſtones, was carried on the ſhoulders of his principal attendants. Behind him came ſome chief officers of his court, carried in the ſame manner. Several bands of ſingers and dancers accompanied this cavalcade; and the whole plain was covered with troops, amounting to more than thirty thouſand men.

Strange harangue of father Valverde.

As the Inca drew near the Spaniſh quarters, father Vincent Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand, and a breviary in the other, and in a long diſcourſe explained to him the doctrine of the creation, the fall of Adam, the incarnation, the ſufferings and reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt, the appointment of St. Peter as God's vicegerent on earth, the tranſmiſſion of his apoſtolic power by ſucceſſion to the popes, the donation made to the king of Caſtile by pope Alexander of all the regions in the New World. In conſequence of all this, he required Atahualpa to embrace the Chriſtian faith, to acknowledge the ſupreme juriſdiction of the pope, and to ſubmit to the king of Caſtile as his lawful ſovereign; promiſing, if he complied inſtantly with this requiſition, that the Caſtilian monarch would protect his dominions, and permit him to continue in the exerciſe of his royal authority; but if he ſhould impiouſly refuſe to obey this ſummons, he denounced war againſt him in his maſter's name, and threatened him with the moſt dreadful effects of his vengeance.

THIS

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Reply of the Inca.

THIS ſtrange harangue, unfolding deep myſteries, and alluding to unknown facts, of which no power of eloquence could have conveyed at once a diſtinct idea to an American, was ſo lamely tranſlated by an unſkilful interpreter, little acquainted with the idiom of the Spaniſh tongue, and incapable of expreſſing himſelf with propriety in the language of the Inca, that its general tenor was altogether incomprehenſible to Atahualpa. Some parts in it, of more obvious meaning, filled him with aſtoniſhment and indignation. His reply, however, was temperate. He began with obſerving, that he was lord of the dominions over which he reigned by hereditary ſucceſſion; and added, that he could not conceive how a foreign prieſt ſhould pretend to diſpoſe of territories which did not belong to him; that if ſuch a prepoſterous grant had been made, he, who was the rightful poſſeſſor, refuſed to confirm it; that he had no inclination to renounce the religious inſtitutions eſtabliſhed by his anceſtors; nor would he forſake the ſervice of the Sun, the immortal divinity whom he and his people revered, in order to worſhip the God of the Spaniards, who was ſubject to death; that with reſpect to other matters contained in his diſcourſe, as he had never heard of them before, and did not now underſtand their meaning, he deſired to know where the prieſt had learned things ſo extraordinary. "In this book," anſwered Valverde, reaching out to him his breviary. The Inca opened it eagerly, and turning over the leaves,

 lifted

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lifted it to his ear: "This," ſays he, "is ſilent; it tells me nothing;" and threw it with diſdain to the ground. The enraged monk, running towards his countrymen, cried out, "To arms, Chriſtians, to arms; the word of God is inſulted; avenge this profanation on thoſe impious dogs [b]."

Pizarro attacks the Peruvians,

PIZARRO, who, during this long conference, had with difficulty reſtrained his ſoldiers, eager to ſeize the rich ſpoils of which they had now ſo near a view, immediately gave the ſignal of aſſault. At once the martial muſic ſtruck up, the cannon and muſkets began to fire, the horſe ſallied out fiercely to the charge, the infantry ruſhed on ſword in hand. The Peruvians, aſtoniſhed at the ſuddenneſs of an attack which they did not expect, and diſmayed with the deſtructive effects of the fire-arms, and the irreſiſtible impreſſion of the cavalry, fled with univerſal conſternation on every ſide, without attempting either to annoy the enemy, or to defend themſelves. Pizarro, at the head of his choſen band, advanced directly towards the Inca; and though his nobles crowded around him with officious zeal, and fell in numbers at his feet, while they vied one with another in ſacrificing their own lives, that they might cover the ſacred perſon of their ſovereign, the Spaniards ſoon penetrated to the royal ſeat; and Pizarro ſeizing the Inca by the arm, dragged him to the ground, and carried him

and ſeizes the Inca.

[b] See NOTE VI.

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as a prisoner to his quarters. The fate of the monarch increased the precipitate flight of his followers. The Spaniards pursued them towards every quarter, and with deliberate and unrelenting barbarity continued to slaughter wretched fugitives, who never once offered to resist. The carnage did not cease until the close of day. Above four thousand Peruvians were killed. Not a single Spaniard fell, nor was one wounded but Pizarro himself, whose hand was slightly hurt by one of his own soldiers, while struggling eagerly to lay hold on the Inca [c].

The plunder of the field was rich beyond any idea which the Spaniards had yet formed concerning the wealth of Peru, and they were so transported with the value of the acquisition, as well as the greatness of their success, that they passed the night in the extravagant exultation natural to indigent adventurers on such an extraordinary change of fortune.

Dejection of the Inca.

At first the captive monarch could hardly believe a calamity which he so little expected to be real. But he soon felt all the misery of his fate, and the dejection into which he sunk was in proportion to the height of grandeur from which he had fallen. Pizarro, afraid of losing all the advantages which he hoped to derive from the possession of such a prisoner, laboured to console him

[c] See NOTE VII.

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with profeſſions of kindneſs and reſpect, that correſponded ill with his actions. By reſiding among the Spaniards, the Inca quickly diſcovered their ruling paſſion, which, indeed, they were no-wiſe ſolicitous to conceal, and by applying to that, made an attempt to recover his liberty. He offered as a ranſom what aſtoniſhed the Spaniards, even after all they now knew concerning the opulence of his kingdom. The apartment in which he was confined was twenty-two feet in length and ſixteen in breadth; he undertook to fill it with veſſels of gold as high as he could reach. Pizarro cloſed eagerly with this tempting propoſal, and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber, to mark the ſtipulated height to which the treaſure was to riſe.

His offer of a ranſom.

Atahualpa, tranſported with having obtained ſome proſpect of liberty, took meaſures inſtantly for fulfilling his part of the agreement, by ſending meſſengers to Cuzco, Quito, and other places, where gold had been amaſſed in largeſt quantities, either for adorning the temples of their gods, or the houſes of the Inca, to bring what was neceſſary for completing his ranſom directly to Caxamalca. Though Atahualpa was now in the cuſtody of his enemies, yet ſo much were the Peruvians accuſtomed to reſpect every mandate iſſued by their ſovereign, that his orders were executed with the greateſt alacrity. Soothed with hopes of recovering his liberty by this means, the ſubjects of the Inca were afraid of endangering his life by forming

any

1532.

any other ſcheme for his relief; and though the force of the empire was ſtill entire, no preparations were made, and no army aſſembled to avenge their own wrongs or thoſe of their monarch[d]. The Spaniards remained in Caxamalca tranquil and unmoleſted. Small detachments of their number marched into remote provinces of the empire, and, inſtead of meeting with any oppoſition, were every where received with marks of the moſt ſubmiſſive reſpect[e].

The Spaniards viſit different provinces.

INCONSIDERABLE as thoſe parties were, and deſirous as Pizarro might be to obtain ſome knowledge of the interior ſtate of the country, he could not have ventured upon any diminution of his main body, if he had not about this time received an account of Almagro's having landed at St. Michael with ſuch a reinforcement as would almoſt double the number of his followers[f]. The arrival of this long-expected ſuccour was not more agreeable to the Spaniards, than alarming to the Inca. He ſaw the power of his enemies increaſe; and as he knew neither the ſource whence they derived their ſupplies, nor the means by which they were conveyed to Peru, he could not foreſee to what a height the inundation that poured in upon his dominions might riſe. While diſquieted with ſuch apprehenſions, he learned that ſome Spaniards, in their way

Almagro arrives with a reinforcement.

December.

1533. Huaſcar put to death.

[d] Xerez, 205. [e] See NOTE VIII.
[f] Xerez, 204. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 1, 2.

BOOK VI. 1533.

to Cuzco, had visited his brother Huascar in the place where he kept him confined, and that the captive prince had represented to them the justice of his own cause, and as an inducement to espouse it, had promised them a quantity of treasure vastly exceeding what Atahualpa had engaged to pay for his ransom. If the Spaniards should listen to this proposal, Atahualpa peceived his own destruction to be inevitable; and suspecting that their insatiable thirst for gold would tempt them to lend a favourable ear to it, he determined to sacrifice his brother's life, that he might save his own; and his orders for this purpose were executed, like all his other commands, with scrupulous punctuality [g].

The Spaniards make a division of the spoil.

MEANWHILE, Indians daily arrived at Caxamalca from different parts of the kingdom, loaded with treasure. A great part of the stipulated quantity was now amassed, and Atahualpa assured the Spaniards, that the only thing which prevented the whole from being brought in, was the remoteness of the provinces where it was deposited. But such vast piles of gold, presented continually to the view of needy soldiers, had so inflamed their avarice, that it was impossible any longer to restrain their impatience to obtain possession of this rich booty. Orders were given for melting down the

[g] Zarate, lib. ii. c. 6. Gomara Hist. c. 115. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 2.

whole, except ſome pieces of curious fabric, reſerved as a preſent for the emperor. After ſetting apart the fifth due to the crown, and a hundred thouſand peſos as a donative to the ſoldiers which arrived with Almagro, there remained one million five hundred and twenty-eight thouſand five hundred peſos to Pizarro and his followers. The feſtival of St. James, the patron ſaint of Spain, was the day choſen for the partition of this vaſt ſum, and the manner of conducting it ſtrongly marks that ſtrange alliance of fanaticiſm with avarice, which I have more than once had occaſion to point out as a ſtriking feature in the character of the conquerors of the New World. Though aſſembled to divide the ſpoils of an innocent people, procured by deceit, extortion, and cruelty, the tranſaction began with a ſolemn invocation of the name of God [h], as if they could have expected the guidance of Heaven in diſtributing thoſe wages of iniquity. In this diviſion above eight thouſand peſos, at that time not inferior in effective value to as many pounds Sterling in the preſent century, fell to the ſhare of each horſeman, and half that ſum to each foot ſoldier. Pizarro himſelf, and his officers received dividends in proportion to the dignity of their rank.

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THERE is no example in hiſtory of ſuch a ſudden acquiſition of wealth by military ſervice, nor was

The effect of it.

[h] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 3.

ever

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ever a ſum ſo great divided among ſo ſmall a number of ſoldiers. Many of them having received a recompence for their ſervices far beyond their moſt ſanguine hopes, were ſo impatient to retire from fatigue and danger, in order to ſpend the remainder of their days in their native country, in eaſe and opulence, that they demanded their diſcharge with clamorous importunity. Pizarro, ſenſible that from ſuch men he could expect neither enterpriſe in action nor fortitude in ſuffering, and perſuaded that wherever they went, the diſplay of their riches would allure adventurers, leſs opulent but more hardy, to his ſtandard, granted their ſuit without reluctance, and permitted above ſixty of them to accompany his brother Ferdinand, whom he ſent to Spain with an account of his ſucceſs, and the preſent deſtined for the emperor[t].

The Inca demands his liberty in vain.

THE Spaniards having divided among them the treaſure amaſſed for the Inca's ranſom, he inſiſted with them to fulfil their promiſe of ſetting him at liberty. But nothing was farther from Pizarro's thoughts. During his long ſervice in the New World, he had imbibed thoſe ideas and maxims of his fellow-ſoldiers, which led them to conſider its inhabitants as an inferior race, neither worthy of the name, nor intitled to the rights, of men. In his compact with Atahualpa, he had no other object than to amuſe his captive with ſuch a proſpect

[t] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4. Vega, p. 2. lib. i. c. 38.

of

of recovering his liberty, as might induce him to lend all the aid of his authority towards collecting the wealth of his kingdom. Having now accomplished this, he no longer regarded his plighted faith; and at the very time when the credulous prince hoped to be replaced on his throne, he had secretly resolved to bereave him of life. Many circumstances seem to have concurred in prompting him to this action, the most criminal and atrocious that stains the Spanish name, amidst all the deeds of violence committed in carrying on the conquest of the New World.

He and the Spaniards mutually jealous.

THOUGH Pizarro had seized the Inca, in imitation of Cortes's conduct towards the Mexican monarch, he did not possess talents for carrying on the same artful plan of policy. Destitute of the temper and address requisite for gaining the confidence of his prisoner, he never reaped all the advantages which might have been derived from being master of his person and authority. Atahualpa was, indeed, a prince of greater abilities and discernment than Montezuma, and seems to have penetrated more thoroughly into the character and intentions of the Spaniards. Mutual suspicion and distrust accordingly took place between them. The strict attention with which it was necessary to guard a captive of such importance, greatly increased the fatigue of military duty. The utility of keeping him appeared inconsiderable; and Pizarro felt him

as

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as an incumbrance, from which he wished to be delivered [k].

Almagro and his followers demand his life.

ALMAGRO and his followers had made a demand of an equal share in the Inca's ransom; and though Pizarro had bestowed upon the private men the large gratuity which I have mentioned, and endeavoured to sooth their leader by presents of great value, they still continued dissatisfied. They were apprehensive, that as long as Atahualpa remained a prisoner, Pizarro's soldiers would apply whatever treasure should be acquired, to make up what was wanting of the quantity stipulated for his ransom, and under that pretext exclude them from any part of it. They insisted eagerly on putting the Inca to death, that all the adventurers in Peru might thereafter be on an equal footing [l].

Motives which induced Pizarro to consent.

PIZARRO himself began to be alarmed with accounts of forces assembling in the remote provinces of the empire, and suspected Atahualpa of having issued orders for that purpose. These fears and suspicions were artfully increased by Philippillo, one of the Indians whom Pizarro had carried off from Tumbez in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-seven, and whom he employed as an interpreter. The function which he performed admitting this man to familiar intercourse with the

[k] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4.

[l] Zarate, lib. ii. c. 7. Vega, p. 2. lib. i. c. 7. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4.

† captive

captive monarch, he preſumed, notwithſtanding the meanneſs of his birth, to raiſe his affections to a *Coya*, or deſcendent of the Sun, one of Atahualpa's wives; and ſeeing no proſpect of gratifying that paſſion during the life of the monarch, he endeavoured to fill the ears of the Spaniards with ſuch accounts of the Inca's ſecret deſigns and preparations, as might awaken their jealouſy, and incite them to cut him off.

While Almagro and his followers openly demanded the life of the Inca, and Philippillo laboured to ruin him by private machinations, that unhappy prince inadvertently contributed to haſten his own fate. During his confinement he had attached himſelf with peculiar affection to Ferdinand Pizarro and Hernando Soto; who, as they were perſons of birth and education ſuperior to the rough adventurers with whom they ſerved, were accuſtomed to behave with more decency and attention to the captive monarch. Soothed with this reſpect from perſons of ſuch high rank, he delighted in their ſociety. But in the preſence of the governor he was uneaſy, and overawed. This dread ſoon came to be mingled with contempt. Among all the European arts, what he admired moſt was that of reading and writing; and he long deliberated with himſelf, whether he ſhould regard it as a natural or acquired talent. In order to determine this, he deſired one of the ſoldiers, who guarded him, to write the name of God on the nail of his thumb.

BOOK VI. 1533. thumb. This he ſhewed ſucceſſively to ſeveral Spaniards, aſking its meaning; and to his amazement, they all, without heſitation, returned the ſame anſwer. At length Pizarro entered; and on preſenting it to him, he bluſhed, and with ſome confuſion was obliged to acknowledge his ignorance. From that moment, Atahualpa conſidered him as a mean perſon, leſs inſtructed than his own ſoldiers; and he had not addreſs enough to conceal the ſentiments with which this diſcovery inſpired him. To be the object of a barbarian's ſcorn, not only mortified the pride of Pizarro, but excited ſuch reſentment in his breaſt, as added force to all the other conſiderations which prompted him to put the Inca to death [m].

His trial. But in order to give ſome colour of juſtice to this violent action, and that he himſelf might be exempted from ſtanding ſingly reſponſible for the commiſſion of it, Pizarro reſolved to try the Inca with all the formalities obſerved in the criminal courts of Spain. Pizarro himſelf, and Almagro, with two aſſiſtants, were appointed judges, with full power to acquit or to condemn; an attorney-general was named to carry on the proſecution in the king's name; counſellors were choſen to aſſiſt the priſoner in his defence; and clerks were ordained to record the proceedings of court. Before this ſtrange tribunal, a charge was exhibited

[m] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4. Vega, p. 11. lib. i. c. 38.

ſtill

ſtill more amazing. It conſiſted of various articles; that Atahualpa, though a baſtard, had diſpoſſeſſed the rightful owner of the throne, and uſurped the regal power; that he had put his brother and lawful ſovereign to death; that he was an idolater, and had not only permitted, but commanded the offering of human ſacrifices; that he had a great number of concubines; that ſince his impriſonment he had waſted and embezzled the royal treaſures, which now belonged of right to the conquerors; that he had incited his ſubjects to take arms againſt the Spaniards. On theſe heads of accuſation, ſome of which are ſo ludicrous, others ſo abſurd, that the effrontery of Pizarro, in making them the foundation of a ſerious procedure, is not leſs ſurpriſing than his injuſtice, did the court go on to try the ſovereign of a great empire, over whom it had no juriſdiction. With reſpect to each of the articles, witneſſes were examined; but as they delivered their evidence in their native tongue, Philippillo had it in his power to give their words whatever turn beſt ſuited his malevolent intentions. To judges predetermined in their opinion, this evidence appeared ſufficient. They pronounced Atahualpa guilty, and condemned him to be burnt alive. Friar Valverde proſtituted the authority of his ſacred function to confirm this ſentence, and by his ſignature warranted it to be juſt. Aſtoniſhed at his fate, Atahualpa endeavoured to avert it by tears, by promiſes, and by entreaties, that he might be ſent to Spain,

He is condemned,

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Spain, where a monarch would be the arbiter of his lot. But pity never touched the unfeeling heart of Pizarro. He ordered him to be led inftantly to execution; and, what added to the bitternefs of his laft moments, the fame monk who had juft ratified his doom, offered to confole, and attempt to convert him. The moft powerful argument Valverde employed to prevail with him to embrace the Chriftian faith, was a promife of mitigation in his punifhment. The dread of a cruel death extorted from the trembling victim a defire of receiving baptifm. The ceremony was performed; and Atahualpa, inftead of being burnt, was ftrangled at the ftake [n].

and executed.

Several Spaniards proteft againft it.

HAPPILY for the credit of the Spanifh nation, even among the profligate adventurers which it fent forth to conquer and defolate the New World, there were perfons who retained fome tincture of the Caftilian generofity and honour. Though, before the trial of Atahualpa, Ferdinand Pizarro had fet out for Spain, and Soto was fent on a feparate command at a diftance from Caxamalca, this odious tranfaction was not carried on without cenfure and oppofition. Several officers, and among thofe fome of the greateft reputation and moft refpectable families in the fervice, not only remonftrated, but protefted againft this meafure of their general, as

[n] Zarate, lib. ii. c. 7. Xeres, p. 233. Vega, p. 11. lib. i. c. 36, 37. Gomara Hift. c. 117. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4.

difgraceful

difgraceful to their country, as repugnant to every maxim of equity, as a violation of public faith, and an ufurpation of jurifdiction over an independent monarch, to which they had no title. But their endeavours were vain. Numbers, and the opinion of fuch as held every thing to be lawful which they deemed advantageous, prevailed. Hiftory, however, records even the unfuccefsful exertions of virtue with applaufe; and the Spanifh writers, in relating events where the valour of their nation is more confpicuous than its humanity, have not failed to preferve the names of thofe who made this laudable effort to fave their country from the infamy of having perpetrated fuch a crime [o].

Diffolution of government and order in Peru.

On the death of Atahualpa, Pizarro invefted one of his fons with the enfigns of royalty, hoping that a young man without experience might prove a more paffive inftrument in his hands, than an ambitious monarch, who had been accuftomed to independent command. The people of Cuzco, and the adjacent country, acknowledged Manco Capac, a brother of Huafcar, as Inca [p]. But neither poffeffed the authority which belonged to a fovereign of Peru. The violent convulfions into which the empire had been thrown, firft by the civil war between the two brothers, and then by the invafion of the Spaniards, had not only de-

[o] Vega, p. 11. lib. i. c. 37. Xeres, i. 235. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 5.

[p] Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 7.

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ranged the order of the Peruvian government, but almoſt diſſolved its frame. When they beheld their monarch a captive in the power of ſtrangers, and at laſt ſuffering an ignominious death, the people in ſeveral provinces, as if they had been ſet free from every reſtraint of law and decency, broke out into the moſt licentious exceſſes[q]. So many deſcendents of the Sun, after being treated with the utmoſt indignity, had been cut off by Atahualpa, that not only their influence in the ſtate diminiſhed with their number, but the accuſtomed reverence for that ſacred race ſenſibly decreaſed. In conſequence of this ſtate of things, ambitious men in different parts of the empire aſpired to independent authority, and uſurped juriſdiction to which they had no title. The general who commanded for Atahualpa in Quito, ſeized the brother and children of his maſter, put them to a cruel death, and diſclaiming any connection with either Inca, endeavoured to eſtabliſh a ſeparate kingdom for himſelf[r].

Pizarro advances to Cuzco.

THE Spaniards, with pleaſure, beheld the ſpirit of diſcord diffuſing itſelf, and the vigour of government relaxing among the Peruvians. They conſidered thoſe diſorders as ſymptoms of a ſtate haſtening towards its diſſolution. Pizarro no longer heſitated to advance towards Cuzco, and he had received ſuch conſiderable reinforcements, that he

[q] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. ii. c. 12. lib. iii. c. 5.
[r] Zarate, lib. ii. c. 8. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 3, 4.

could

could venture, with little danger, to penetrate ſo far into the interior part of the country. The account of the wealth acquired at Caxamalca operated as he had foreſeen. No ſooner did his brother Ferdinand, with the officers and ſoldiers to whom he had given their diſcharge after the partition of the Inca's ranſom, arrive at Panama, and diſplay their riches in the view of their aſtoniſhed countrymen, than fame ſpread the account with ſuch exaggeration through all the Spaniſh ſettlements on the South Sea, that the governors of Guatimala, Panama, and Nicaragua, could hardly reſtrain the people under their juriſdiction, from abandoning their poſſeſſions, and crowding to that inexhauſtible ſource of wealth which ſeemed to be opened in Peru [a]. In ſpite of every check and regulation, ſuch numbers reſorted thither, that Pizarro began his march at the head of five hundred men, after leaving a conſiderable garriſon in St. Michael, under the command of Benalcazar. The Peruvians had aſſembled ſome large bodies of troops to oppoſe his progreſs. Several fierce encounters happened. But they terminated like all the actions in America; a few Spaniards were killed or wounded; the natives were put to flight with incredible ſlaughter. At length Pizarro forced his way to Cuzco, and took quiet poſſeſſion of that capital. The riches found

[a] Gomara Hiſt. c. 125. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 1. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 5.

 there,

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there, even after all that the natives had carried off and concealed, either from a superstitious veneration for the ornaments of their temples, or out of hatred to their rapacious conquerors, exceeded in value what had been received as Atahualpa's ransom. But as the Spaniards were now accustomed to the wealth of the country, and it came to be parcelled out among a greater number of adventurers, this dividend did not excite the same surprise either from novelty, or the largeness of the sum that fell to the share of each individual [t].

During the march to Cuzco, that son of Atahualpa whom Pizarro treated as Inca, died; and as the Spaniards substituted no person in his place, the title of Manco Capac seems to have been universally recognized [u].

Quito conquered by Benalcazar.

While his fellow-soldiers were thus employed, Benalcazar, governor of St. Michael, an able and enterprising officer, was ashamed of remaining inactive, and impatient to have his name distinguished among the discoverers and conquerors of the New World. The seasonable arrival of a fresh body of recruits from Panama and Nicaragua, put it in his power to gratify this passion. Leaving a sufficient force to protect the infant settlement entrusted to his care, he placed himself at the head of the rest, and set out to attempt the reduction of

[t] See NOTE IX.

[u] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. v. c. 3.

Quito,

Quito, where, according to the report of the natives, Atahualpa had left the greatest part of his treasure. Notwithstanding the vast distance of that city from St. Michael, the difficulty of marching through a mountainous country covered with woods, and the frequent and fierce attacks of the best troops in Peru, commanded by a skilful leader, the valour, good conduct, and perseverance of Benalcazar surmounted every obstacle, and he entered Quito with his victorious troops. But they met with a cruel mortification there. The natives now acquainted, to their sorrow, with the predominant passion of their invaders, and knowing how to disappoint it, had carried off all those treasures, the prospect of which had prompted them to undertake this arduous expedition, and had supported them under all the dangers and hardships wherewith they had to struggle in carrying it on[x].

Alvarado's expedition.

BENALCAZAR was not the only Spanish leader who attacked the kingdom of Quito. The fame of its riches attracted a more powerful enemy. Pedro de Alvarado, who had distinguished himself so eminently in the conquest of Mexico, having obtained the government of Guatimala as a recompence for his valour, soon became disgusted with a life of uniform tranquillity, and longed to

[x] Zarate, lib. ii. c. 9. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 9. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 11, 12. lib. v. c. 2, 3. lib. vi. c. 3.

BOOK VI. 1533. be again engaged in the buſtle of military ſervice. The glory and wealth acquired by the conquerors of Peru heightened this paſſion, and gave it a determined direction. Believing, or pretending to believe, that the kingdom of Quito did not lie within the limits of the province allotted to Pizarro, he reſolved to invade it. The high reputation of the commander allured volunteers from every quarter. He embarked with five hundred men, of whom above two hundred were of ſuch diſtinction as to ſerve on horſeback. He landed at Puerto Viejo, and without ſufficient knowledge of the country, or proper guides to conduct him, attempted to march directly to Quito, by following the courſe of the river Guayquil, and croſſing the ridge of the Andes towards its head. But in this route, one of the moſt impracticable in all America, his troops endured ſuch fatigue in forcing their way through foreſts and marſhes on the low grounds, and ſuffered ſo much from exceſſive cold when they began to aſcend the mountains, that before they reached the plain of Quito, a fifth part of the men and half of their horſes died, and the reſt were ſo much diſpirited and worn out, as to be almoſt unfit for ſervice[y]. There they met with a body, not of Indians but of Spaniards, drawn up in hoſtile array againſt them. Pizarro having received an account of Alvarado's armament, had detached Almagro with ſome troops to

[y] See NOTE X.

BOOK VI. 1533.

oppoſe this formidable invader of his juriſdiction; and theſe were joined by Benalcazar and his victorious party. Alvarado, though ſurpriſed at the ſight of enemies whom he did not expect, advanced boldly to the charge. But, by the interpoſition of ſome moderate men in each party, an amicable accommodation took place; and the fatal period, when Spaniards ſuſpended their conqueſts to embrue their hands in the blood of their countrymen, was poſtponed a few years. Alvarado engaged to return to his government, upon Almagro's paying him a hundred thouſand peſos to defray the expence of his armament. Moſt of his followers remained in the country; and an expedition, which threatened Pizarro and his colony with ruin, contributed to augment its ſtrength [z].

1534. Honours conferred on Pizarro and Almagro.

By this time Ferdinand Pizarro had landed in Spain. The immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver which he imported [a], filled the kingdom with no leſs aſtoniſhment than they had excited in Panama and the adjacent provinces. Pizarro was received by the emperor with the attention due to the bearer of a preſent ſo rich, as to exceed any idea which the Spaniards had formed concerning the value of their acquiſitions in America, even after they had been ten years maſters of Mexico. In

[z] Zarate, lib. ii. c. 10—13. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 1, 2. 9. &c. Gomara Hiſt. c. 126, &c. Remeſal Hiſt. Guatimal. lib. iii. c. 6. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 1, 2. 7, 8.

[a] See NOTE XI.

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recompence of his brother's ſervices, his authority was confirmed with new powers and privileges, and the addition of ſeventy leagues, extending along the coaſt, to the ſouthward of the territory granted in his former patent. Almagro received the honours which he had ſo long deſired. The title of Adelantado, or governor, was conferred upon him, with juriſdiction over two hundred leagues of country, ſtretching beyond the ſouthern limits of the province allotted to Pizarro. Ferdinand himſelf did not go unrewarded. He was admitted into the military order of St. Jago, a diſtinction always acceptable to a Spaniſh gentleman, and ſoon ſet out on his return to Peru, accompanied by many perſons of higher rank than had yet ſerved in that country [b].

Beginning of diſſentions between Pizarro and Almagro.

SOME account of his negociations reached Peru before he arrived there himſelf. Almagro no ſooner learned that he had obtained the royal grant of an independent government, than, pretending that Cuzco, the imperial reſidence of the Incas, lay within its boundaries, he attempted to render himſelf maſter of that important ſtation. Juan and Gonzalez Pizarro, prepared to oppoſe him. Each of the contending parties was ſupported by powerful adherents, and the diſpute was on the point of being terminated by the ſword, when Francis Pizarro arrived in the capital. The recon-

[b] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 3. Vega, p. II. lib. ii. c. 19. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 13.

ciliation

ciliation between him and Almagro had never been cordial. The treachery of Pizarro in engroſſing to himſelf all the honours and emoluments, which ought to have been divided with his aſſociate, was always preſent in both their thoughts. The former, conſcious of his own perfidy, did not expect forgiveneſs; the latter, feeling that he had been deceived, was impatient to be avenged; and though avarice and ambition had induced them not only to diſſemble their ſentiments, but even to act in concert while in purſuit of wealth and power, no ſooner did they obtain poſſeſſion of theſe, than the ſame paſſions which had formed this temporary union, gave riſe to jealouſy and diſcord. To each of them was attached a ſmall band of intereſted dependents, who, with the malicious art peculiar to ſuch men, heightened their ſuſpicions, and magnified every appearance of offence. But with all thoſe ſeeds of enmity in their minds, and thus aſſiduouſly cheriſhed, each was ſo thoroughly acquainted with the abilities and courage of his rival, that they equally dreaded the conſequences of an open rupture. The fortunate arrival of Pizarro at Cuzco, and the addreſs mingled with firmneſs which he manifeſted in his expoſtulations with Almagro and his partizans, averted that evil for the preſent. A new reconciliation took place; the chief article of which was, that Almagro ſhould attempt the conqueſt of Chili; and if he did not find in that province an eſtabliſhment adequate to his merit and expectations, Pizarro, by way of in-

1534.

demnification,

BOOK VI. 1534. June 12. demnification, ſhould yield up to him a part of Peru. This new agreement, though confirmed with the ſame ſacred ſolemnities as their firſt contract, was obſerved with as little fidelity [c].

Regulations of Pizarro. SOON after he concluded this important tranſaction, Pizarro marched back to the countries on the ſea-coaſt, and as he now enjoyed an interval of tranquillity, undiſturbed by any enemy, either Spaniſh or Indian, he applied himſelf with that perſevering ardour, which diſtinguiſhes his character, to introduce a form of regular government into the extenſive provinces ſubject to his authority. Though ill qualified by his education to enter into any diſquiſition concerning the principles of civil policy, and little accuſtomed by his former habits of life to attend to its arrangements, his natural ſagacity ſupplied the want both of ſcience and experience. He diſtributed the country into various diſtricts; he appointed proper magiſtrates to preſide in each; and eſtabliſhed regulations concerning the adminiſtration of juſtice, the collection of the royal revenue, the working of the mines, and the treatment of the Indians, extremely ſimple, but well calculated to promote the public proſperity. But though, for the preſent, he adapted his plan to the infant ſtate of his colony, his aſpiring mind looked forward to its future grandeur. He

[c] Zarate, lib. ii. c. 13. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 19. Benzo, lib. iii. c. 6. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vii. c. 8.

conſidered

confidered himfelf as laying the foundation of a great empire, and deliberated long, and with much folicitude, in what place he fhould fix the feat of government. Cuzco, the imperial city of the Incas, was fituated in a corner of the empire, above four hundred miles from the fea, and much farther from Quito, a province of whofe value he had formed an high idea. No other fettlement of the Peruvians was fo confiderable as to merit the name of a town, or to allure the Spaniards to fix their refidence in it. But, in marching through the country, Pizarro had been ftruck with the beauty and fertility of the valley of Rimac, one of the moft extenfive and beft cultivated in Peru. There, on the banks of a fmall river, of the fame name with the vale which it waters and enriches, at the diftance of fix miles from Callao, the moft commodious harbour in the Pacific Ocean, he founded a city which he deftined to be the capital of his government. He gave it the name of Ciudad de los Reyes, either from the circumftance of having laid the firft ftone, at that feafon when the church celebrates the feftival of the Three Kings, or, as is more probable, in honour of Juana and Charles, the fovereigns of Caftile. This name it ftill retains among the Spaniards, in all legal and formal deeds; but it is better known to foreigners by that of *Lima*, a corruption of the ancient appellation of the valley in which it is fituated. Under his infpection, the buildings advanced with fuch rapidity, that it foon affumed the form of a city, which, by

BOOK VI. 1534. Foundation of Lima.

1535. January 18.

BOOK VI. 1535.

by a magnificent palace that he erected for himself, and by the stately houses built by several of his officers, gave, even in its infancy, some indication of its subsequent grandeur[d].

Almagro invades Chili.

In consequence of what had been agreed with Pizarro, Almagro began his march towards Chili; and as he possessed in an eminent degree the virtues most admired by soldiers, boundless liberality and fearless courage, his standard was followed by five hundred and seventy men, the greatest body of Europeans that had hitherto been assembled in Peru. From impatience to finish the expedition, or from that contempt of hardship and danger acquired by all the Spaniards who had served long in America, Almagro, instead of advancing along the level country on the coast, chose to march across the mountains by a route that was shorter indeed, but almost impracticable. In this attempt his troops were exposed to every calamity which men can suffer, from fatigue, from famine, and from the rigour of the climate in those elevated regions of the torrid zone, where the degree of cold is hardly inferior to what is felt within the polar circle. Many of them perished; and the survivors, when they descended into the fertile plains of Chili, had new difficulties to encounter. They found there a race of men very different from the people of Peru, intrepid, hardy, independent,

[d] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 12. lib. vii. c. 13. Calancha Coronica, lib. i. c. 37. Barnuevo, Lima fundata, ii. 294.

and

and in their bodily conſtitution, as well as vigour of ſpirit, nearly reſembling the warlike tribes in North America. Though filled with wonder at the firſt appearance of the Spaniards, and ſtill more aſtoniſhed at the operations of their cavalry and the effects of their fire-arms, the Chileſe ſoon recovered ſo far from their ſurprize, as not only to defend themſelves with obſtinacy, but to attack their new enemies with more determined fierceneſs than any American nation had hitherto diſcovered. The Spaniards, however, continued to penetrate into the country, and collected ſome conſiderable quantities of gold; but were ſo far from thinking of making any ſettlement amidſt ſuch formidable neighbours, that, in ſpite of all the experience and valour of their leader, the final iſſue of the expedition ſtill remained extremely dubious, when they were recalled from it by an unexpected revolution in Peru [e]. The cauſes of this important event I ſhall endeavour to trace to their ſource.

An inſurrection of the Peruvians.

So many adventurers had flocked to Peru from every Spaniſh colony in America, and all with ſuch high expectations of accumulating independent fortunes at once, that, to men poſſeſſed with notions ſo extravagant, any mention of acquiring wealth gradually, and by ſchemes of patient induſtry, would have been not only a diſ-

[e] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 1. Gomara Hiſt. c. 131. Vega, p. 2. lib. ii. c. 20. Ovalle Hiſt. de Chile, lib. iv. c. 15, &c. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 9. lib. x. c. 1, &c.

BOOK VI. 1535.

appointment, but an insult. In order to find occupation for men who could not with safety be allowed to remain inactive, Pizarro encouraged some of the most distinguished officers who had lately joined him, to invade different provinces of the empire, which the Spaniards had not hitherto visited. Several large bodies were formed for this purpose; and about the time that Almagro set out for Chili, they marched into remote districts of the country. No sooner did Manco Capac, the Inca, observe the inconsiderate security of the Spaniards in thus dispersing their troops, and that only a handful of soldiers remained in Cuzco, under Juan and Gonzalez Pizarro, than he thought that the happy period was at length come for vindicating his own rights, avenging the wrongs of his country, and extirpating its oppressors. Though strictly watched by the Spaniards, who allowed him to reside in the palace of his ancestors at Cuzco, he found means of communicating his scheme to the persons who were to be entrusted with the execution of it. Among people accustomed to revere their sovereign as a divinity, every hint of his will carries the authority of a command; and they themselves were now convinced, by the daily increase in the number of their invaders, that the fond hopes which they had long entertained of their voluntary departure were altogether vain. All perceived that a vigorous effort of the whole nation was requisite to expel them, and the preparations for it were car-

Its rise,

ried

ried on with the ſecrecy and ſilence peculiar to Americans. BOOK VI. 1535.

AFTER ſome unſucceſsful attempts of the Inca to make his eſcape, Ferdinand Pizarro happening to arrive at that time in Cuzco, he obtained per-miſſion from him to attend a great feſtival which was to be celebrated a few leagues from the capi-tal. Under pretext of that ſolemnity, the great men of the empire were aſſembled. As ſoon as the Inca joined them, the ſtandard of war was erected; and in a ſhort time all the fighting men, from the confines of Quito to the frontier of Chili, were in arms. Many Spaniards, living ſecurely on the ſettlements allotted them, were maſſacred. Several detachments, as they marched careleſly through a country which ſeemed to be tamely ſub-miſſive to their dominion, were cut off to a man. An army amounting (if we may believe the Spa-niſh writers) to two hundred thouſand men, at-tacked Cuzco, which the three brothers endea-voured to defend with only one hundred and ſeventy Spaniards. Another formidable body in-veſted Lima, and kept the governor cloſely ſhut up. There was no longer any communication be-tween the two cities; the numerous forces of the Peruvians ſpreading over the country, intercepted every meſſenger; and as the parties in Cuzco and Lima were equally unacquainted with the fate of their countrymen, each boded the worſt concerning the

and progreſs. 1536.

BOOK VI. 1536.

the other, and imagined that they themselves were the only persons who had survived the general extinction of the Spanish name in Peru [d].

Siege of Cuzco.

It was at Cuzco, where the Inca commanded in person, that the Peruvians made their chief effort. During nine months they carried on the siege with incessant ardour, and in various forms; and though they displayed not the same undaunted ferocity as the Mexican warriors, they conducted some of their operations in a manner which discovered greater sagacity, and a genius more susceptible of improvement in the military art. They not only observed the advantages which the Spaniards derived from their discipline and their weapons, but they endeavoured to imitate the former, and turn the latter against them. They armed a considerable body of their bravest warriors with the swords, the spears, and bucklers, which they had taken from the Spanish soldiers whom they had cut off in different parts of the country. These they endeavoured to marshal in that regular compact order, to which experience had taught them that the Spaniards were indebted for their irresistible force in action. Some appeared in the field with Spanish muskets, and had acquired skill and resolution enough to use them. A few of the boldest, among whom was the Inca himself, were

[d] Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 28. Zarate, lib. iii. c. 3. Cieca de Leon, c. 82. Gomara Hist. c. 135. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. viii. c. 5.

mounted

mounted on the horſes which they had taken, and advanced briſkly to the charge like Spaniſh cavaliers, with their lances in the reſt. It was more by their numbers, however, than by thoſe imperfect eſſays to imitate European arts and employ European arms, that the Peruvians annoyed the Spaniards [e]. In ſpite of the valour, heightened by deſpair, with which the three brothers defended Cuzco, Manco Capac recovered poſſeſſion of one half of his capital; and before the Spaniards could drive him out of it, they loſt Juan Pizarro, the beſt beloved of all the brothers, together with ſome other perſons of note. Worn out with the fatigue of inceſſant duty, diſtreſſed with want of proviſions, and deſpairing of being able any longer to reſiſt an enemy whoſe numbers daily increaſed, the ſoldiers became impatient to abandon Cuzco, in hopes either of joining their countrymen, if any of them yet ſurvived, or of forcing their way to the ſea, and finding ſome means of eſcaping from a country which had been ſo fatal to the Spaniſh name [f]. While they were brooding over thoſe deſponding thoughts, which their officers laboured in vain to diſpel, Almagro appeared ſuddenly in the neighbourhood of Cuzco.

Arrival of Almagro,

THE accounts tranſmitted to Almagro concerning the general inſurrection of the Peruvians, were

[e] See NOTE XII.

[f] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. viii. c. 4.

BOOK VI. 1536. and motives of his conduct. ſuch as would have induced him, without heſitation, to relinquiſh the conqueſt of Chili, and haſten to the aid of his countrymen. But in this reſolution he was confirmed by a motive leſs generous, but more intereſting. By the ſame meſſenger who brought him intelligence of the Inca's revolt, he received the royal patent creating him governor of Chili, and defining the limits of his juriſdiction. Upon conſidering the tenor of it, he deemed it manifeſt beyond contradiction, that Cuzco lay within the boundaries of his government, and he was equally ſolicitous to prevent the Peruvians from recovering poſſeſſion of their capital, and to wreſt it out of the hands of the Pizarros. From impatience to accompliſh both, he ventured to return by a new route; and in marching through the ſandy plains on the coaſt, he ſuffered, from heat and drought, calamities of a new ſpecies, hardly inferior to thoſe in which he had been involved by cold and famine on the ſummits of the Andes.

1537. His operations. HIS arrival at Cuzco was in a critical moment. The Spaniards and Peruvians fixed their eyes upon him with equal ſolicitude. The former, as he did not ſtudy to conceal his pretenſions, were at a loſs whether to welcome him as a deliverer, or to take precautions againſt him as an enemy. The latter, knowing the points in conteſt between him and his countrymen, flattered themſelves that they had more to hope than to dread from his operations.

tions. Almagro himſelf, unacquainted with the detail of the events which had happened in his abſence, and ſolicitous to learn the preciſe poſture of affairs, advanced towards the capital ſlowly, and with great circumſpection. Various negociations with both parties were ſet on foot. The Inca conducted them on his part with much addreſs. At firſt he endeavoured to gain the friendſhip of Almagro; and after many fruitleſs overtures, deſpairing of any cordial union with a Spaniard, he attacked him by ſurpriſe with a numerous body of choſen troops. But the Spaniſh diſcipline and valour maintained their wonted ſuperiority. The Peruvians were repulſed with ſuch ſlaughter, that a great part of their army diſperſed, and Almagro proceeded to the gates of Cuzco without interruption.

Takes poſſeſſion of Cuzco.

The Pizarros, as they had no longer to make head againſt the Peruvians, directed all their attention towards their new enemy, and took meaſures to obſtruct his entry into the capital. Prudence, however, reſtrained both parties for ſome time from turning their arms againſt one another, while ſurrounded by common enemies, who would rejoice in the mutual ſlaughter. Different ſchemes of accommodation were propoſed. Each endeavoured to deceive the other, or to corrupt his followers. The generous, open, affable temper of Almagro gained many adherents of the Pizarros, who were diſguſted with their harſh domineering

 manners.

BOOK VI. 1537.

manners. Encouraged by this defection, he advanced towards the city by night, surprised the centinels, or was admitted by them, and investing the house where the two brothers resided, compelled them, after an obstinate defence, to surrender at discretion. Almagro's claim of jurisdiction over Cuzco was universally acknowledged, and a form of administration established in his name[g].

Civil war, and first success of Almagro,

Two or three persons only were killed in this first act of civil hostility; but it was soon followed by scenes more bloody. Francis Pizarro having dispersed the Peruvians who had invested Lima, and received some considerable reinforcements from Hispaniola and Nicaragua, ordered five hundred men, under the command of Alonso de Alvarado, to march to Cuzco, in hopes of relieving his brothers, if they and their garrison were not already cut off by the Peruvians. This body, which, at that period of the Spanish power in America, must be deemed a considerable force, advanced near to the capital before they knew that they had any enemy more formidable than Indians to encounter. It was with astonishment that they beheld their countrymen posted on the banks of the river Abancay to oppose their progress. Almagro, however, wished rather to gain than to conquer them, and by bribes and promises endeavoured to seduce their

[g] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 4. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 29. 31. Gomara Hist. c. 134. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. ii. c. 1—5.

leader,

1537.

leader. The fidelity of Alvarado remained unſhaken; but his talents for war were not equal to his virtue. Almagro amuſed him with various movements, of which he did not comprehend the meaning, while a large detachment of choſen soldiers paſſed the river by night, fell upon his camp by ſurpriſe, broke his troops before they had time to form, and took him priſoner, together with his principal officers [h]. July 12.

but does not improve his advantages.

By the ſudden rout of this body, the conteſt between the two rivals muſt have been decided, if Almagro had known as well how to improve as how to gain a victory. Rodrigo Orgognez, an officer of great abilities, who having ſerved under the conſtable Bourbon, when he led the Imperial army to Rome, had been accuſtomed to bold and deciſive meaſures, adviſed him inſtantly to iſſue orders for putting to death Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarros, Alvarado, and a few other perſons whom he could not hope to gain, and to march directly with his victorious troops to Lima, before the governor had time to prepare for his defence. But Almagro, though he diſcerned at once the utility of the counſel, and had courage to have carried it into execution, ſuffered himſelf to be influenced by ſentiments unlike thoſe of a ſoldier of fortune grown old in ſervice, and by ſcruples

[h] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 6. Gom. Hiſt. c. 138. Vega, p. II. lib. ii. c. 33, 34. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. ii. c. 9.

BOOK VI. 1537.

which suited not the chief of a party who had drawn his sword in civil war. Feelings of humanity restrained him from shedding the blood of his opponents; and the dread of being deemed a rebel, deterred him from entering a province which the king had allotted to another. Though he knew that arms must terminate the dispute between him and Pizarro, and resolved not to shun that mode of decision, yet, with a timid delicacy preposterous at such a juncture, he was so solicitous that his rival should be considered as the aggressor, that he marched quietly back to Cuzco, to wait his approach[i].

Distress of Pizarro.

PIZARRO was still unacquainted with all the interesting events which had happened near Cuzco. Accounts of Almagro's return, of the loss of the capital, of the death of one brother, of the imprisonment of the other two, and of the defeat of Alvarado, were brought to him at once. Such a tide of misfortunes almost overwhelmed a spirit which had continued firm and erect under the rudest shocks of adversity. But the necessity of attending to his own safety, as well as the desire of revenge, preserved him from sinking under it. He took measures for both with his wonted sagacity.

His artful conduct.

As he had the command of the sea-coast, and expected considerable supplies both of men and military stores, it was no less his interest to

[i] Herrera, dec. 6. lib. ii. c. 10, 11.

gain

gain time, and to avoid action, than it was that of Almagro to precipitate operations, and bring the conteſt to a ſpeedy iſſue. He had recourſe to arts which he had formerly practiſed with ſucceſs, and Almagro was again weak enough to ſuffer himſelf to be amuſed with a proſpect of terminating their differences by ſome amicable accommodation. By varying his overtures, and ſhifting his ground as often as it ſuited his purpoſe, ſometimes ſeeming to yield every thing which his rival could deſire, and then retracting all that he had granted, Pizarro dexterouſly protracted the negociation to ſuch a length, that though every day was precious to Almagro, ſeveral months elapſed without coming to any final agreement. While the attention of Almagro, and of the officers with whom he conſulted, was occupied in detecting and eluding the fraudulent intentions of the governor, Gonzalo Pizarro and Alvarado found means to corrupt the ſoldiers to whoſe cuſtody they were committed, and not only made their eſcape themſelves, but perſuaded ſixty of the men who formerly guarded them to accompany their flight [k]. Fortune having thus delivered one of his brothers, the governor ſcrupled not at one act of perfidy more to procure the releaſe of the other. He propoſed, that every point in controverſy between Almagro and himſelf ſhould be ſubmitted to the deciſion of their ſovereign; that until his award was known, each

[k] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 8. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. ii. c. 14.

BOOK VI. 1537. ſhould retain undiſturbed poſſeſſion of whatever part of the country he now occupied; that Ferdinand Pizarro ſhould be ſet at liberty, and return inſtantly to Spain, together with the officers, whom Almagro purpoſed to ſend thither to repreſent the juſtice of his claims. Obvious as the deſign of Pizarro was in thoſe propoſitions, and familiar as his artifices might now have been to his opponent, Almagro, with a credulity approaching to infatuation, relied on his ſincerity, and concluded an agreement on theſe terms [1].

His preparations for war.

THE moment that Ferdinand Pizarro recovered his liberty, the governor, no longer fettered in his operations by anxiety about his brother's life, threw off every diſguiſe which his concern for it had obliged him to aſſume. The treaty was forgotten; pacific and conciliating meaſures were no more mentioned; it was in the field, he openly declared, and not in the cabinet; by arms, and not by negociation; that it muſt now be determined who ſhould be maſter of Peru. The rapidity of his preparations ſuited ſuch a deciſive reſolution. Seven hundred men were ſoon ready to 1538. march towards Cuzco. The command of theſe was given to his two brothers, in whom he could perfectly confide for the execution of his moſt violent ſchemes, as they were urged on, not only by the enmity flowing from family rivalſhip, but

[1] Herrera, dec. 6. lib. iii. c. 9. Zarate, lib. iii. c. 9. Gomara Hiſt. c. 140. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 35.

animated

1538.

animated with the defire of vengeance, excited by recollection of their own recent difgrace and fufferings. After an unfuccefsful attempt to crofs the mountains in the direct road between Lima and Cuzco, they marched towards the fouth along the coaft as far as Nafca, and then turning to the left, penetrated through the defiles in that branch of the Andes which lay between them and the capital. Almagro, inftead of hearkening to fome of his officers, who advifed him to attempt the defence of thofe difficult paffes, waited the approach of the enemy in the plain of Cuzco. Two reafons feem to have induced him to take this refolution. His followers amounted hardly to five hundred, and he was afraid of weakening fuch a feeble body, by fending any detachment towards the mountains. His cavalry far exceeded that of the adverfe party, both in number and difcipline, and it was only in an open country that he could avail himfelf of that advantage.

His army marches to Cuzco.

The Pizarros advanced without any obftruction, but what arofe from the nature of the defert and horrid regions through which they marched. As foon as they reached the plain, both factions were equally impatient to bring this long-protracted conteft to an iffue. Though countrymen and friends, the fubjects of the fame fovereign, and each with the royal ftandard difplayed; and though they beheld the mountains that furrounded the plain in which they were drawn up, covered with a vaft

BOOK VI. 1538.

multitude of Indians, assembled to enjoy the spectacle of their mutual carnage, and prepared to attack whatever party remained master of the field; so fell and implacable was the rancour which had taken possession of every breast, that not one pacific counsel, not a single overture towards accommodation proceeded from either side. Unfortunately for Almagro, he was so worn out with the fatigues of service, to which his advanced age was unequal, that, at this crisis of his fate, he could not exert his wonted activity; and he was obliged to commit the leading of his troops to Orgognez, who, though an officer of great merit, did not possess the same ascendant either over the spirit or affections of the soldiers, as the chief whom they had long been accustomed to follow and revere.

April 26. Almagro defeated,

THE conflict was fierce, and maintained by each party with equal courage. On the side of Almagro, were more veteran soldiers, and a larger proportion of cavalry; but these were counterbalanced by Pizarro's superiority in numbers, and by two companies of well-disciplined musketeers, which, on receiving an account of the insurrection of the Indians, the emperor had sent from Spain [m]. As the use of fire-arms was not frequent among the adventurers in America [n], hastily equipped for service, at their own expence, this small band of soldiers, regularly trained and armed, was a no-

[m] Herrera, dec. 6. lib. iii. c. 8.

[n] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 8.

velty

velty in Peru, and decided the fate of the day. Wherever it advanced, the weight of a heavy and well-sustained fire bore down horse and foot before it; and Orgognez, while he endeavoured to rally and animate his troops, having received a dangerous wound, the rout became general. The barbarity of the conquerors stained the glory which they acquired by this complete victory. The violence of civil rage hurried on some to slaughter their countrymen with indiscriminate cruelty; the meanness of private revenge instigated others to single out individuals as the objects of their vengeance. Orgognez and several officers of distinction were massacred in cold blood; above a hundred and forty soldiers fell in the field; a large proportion, where the number of combatants were few, and the heat of the contest soon over. Almagro, though so feeble that he could not bear the motion of a horse, had insisted on being carried in a litter to an eminence which overlooked the field of battle. From thence, in the utmost agitation of mind, he viewed the various movements of both parties, and at last beheld the total defeat of his own troops, with all the passionate indignation of a veteran leader long accustomed to victory. He endeavoured to save himself by flight, but was taken prisoner, and guarded with the strictest vigilance[o]. and taken,

[o] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 11, 12. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 36—38. Herrera, dec. 6, lib. iii. c. 10—12. lib. iv. c. 1—6.

THE

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THE Indians, inſtead of executing the reſolution which they had formed, retired quietly after the battle was over; and in the hiſtory of the New World, there is not a more ſtriking inſtance of the wonderful aſcendant which the Spaniards had acquired over its inhabitants, than that after ſeeing one of the contending parties ruined and diſperſed, and the other weakened and fatigued, they had not courage to fall upon their enemies, when fortune preſented an opportunity of attacking them with ſuch advantage [p].

New expeditions.

CUZCO was pillaged by the victorious troops, who found there a conſiderable booty, conſiſting partly of the gleanings of the Indian treaſures, and partly of the wealth amaſſed by their antagoniſts from the ſpoils of Peru and Chili. But ſo far did this, and whatever the bounty of their leader could add to it, fall below the high ideas of the recompence which they conceived to be due to their merit, that Ferdinand Pizarro, unable to gratify ſuch extravagant expectations, had recourſe to the ſame expedient which his brother had employed on a ſimilar occaſion, and endeavoured to find occupation for this turbulent aſſuming ſpirit, in order to prevent it from breaking out into open mutiny. With this view, he encouraged his moſt active officers to attempt the diſcovery and reduction of various provinces which had not hitherto ſubmitted to the

[p] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 11. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 38.

Spaniards,

Spaniards. To every ſtandard erected by the leaders who undertook any of thoſe new expeditions, volunteers reſorted with the ardour and hope peculiar to the age. Several of Almagro's ſoldiers joined them, and thus Pizarro had the ſatisfaction of being delivered both from the importunity of his diſcontented friends, and the dread of his ancient enemies[q].

Almagro tried,

ALMAGRO himſelf remained for ſeveral months in cuſtody, under all the anguiſh of ſuſpence. For although his doom was determined by the Pizarros from the moment that he fell into their hands, prudence conſtrained them to defer gratifying their vengeance, until the ſoldiers who had ſerved under him, as well as ſeveral of their own followers in whom they could not perfectly confide, had left Cuzco. As ſoon as they ſet out upon their different expeditions, Almagro was impeached of treaſon, formally tried, and condemned to die. The ſentence aſtoniſhed him, and though he had often braved death with undaunted ſpirit in the field, its approach under this ignominious form appalled him ſo much, that he had recourſe to abject ſupplications, unworthy of his former fame. He beſought the Pizarros to remember the ancient friendſhip between their brother and him, and how much he had contributed to the proſperity of their family; he reminded them of the humanity with

condemned,

[q] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 12. Gomara Hiſt. c. 141. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. iv. c. 7.

which,

BOOK VI. 1538. which, in oppoſition to the repeated remonſtrances of his own moſt attached friends, he had ſpared their lives when he had them in his power; he conjured them to pity his age and infirmities, and to ſuffer him to paſs the wretched remainder of his days in bewailing his crimes, and in making his peace with Heaven. The intreaties, ſays a Spaniſh hiſtorian, of a man ſo much beloved, touched many an unfeeling heart, and drew tears from many a hard eye. But the brothers remained inflexible. As ſoon as Almagro knew his fate to be inevitable, he met it with the dignity and fortitude of a veteran. He was ſtrangled in priſon, and afterwards publicly beheaded. He ſuffered in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age, and left one ſon by an Indian woman of Panama, whom, though at that time a priſoner in Lima, he named as ſucceſſor to his government, purſuant to a power which the emperor had granted him[t].

And put to death.

1539. Deliberations of the court of Spain concerning the ſtate of Peru.

As, during the civil diſſentions in Peru, all intercourſe with Spain was ſuſpended, the detail of the extraordinary tranſactions there did not ſoon reach the court. Unfortunately for the victorious faction, the firſt intelligence was brought thither by ſome of Almagro's officers, who left the country upon the ruin of their cauſe; and they related what had happened, with every circumſtance un-

[t] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 12. Gomara Hiſt. c. 141. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 39. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. iv. c. 9. lib. v. c. 1.

favourable to Pizarro and his brothers. Their ambition, their breach of the most solemn engagements, their violence and cruelty were painted with all the malignity and exaggeration of party hatred. Ferdinand Pizarro, who arrived soon after, and appeared in court with extraordinary splendor, endeavoured to efface the impression which their accusations had made, and to justify his brother and himself by representing Almagro as the aggressor. The emperor and his ministers, though they could not pronounce which of the contending factions was most criminal, clearly discerned the fatal tendency of their dissentions. It was obvious, that while the leaders, entrusted with the conduct of two infant colonies, employed the arms which should have been turned against the common enemy, in destroying one another, all attention to the public good must cease, and there was reason to dread that the Indians might improve the advantage which the disunion of the Spaniards presented to them, and extirpate both the victors and vanquished. But the evil was more apparent than the remedy. Where the information which had been received was so defective and suspicious, and the scene of action so remote, it was almost impossible to chalk out the line of conduct that ought to be followed; and before any plan that should be approved of in Spain could be carried into execution, the situation of the parties, and the circumstances of affairs, might alter so entirely as to render its effects extremely pernicious.

NOTHING

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1539.

Vaca de Castro sent thither with ample powers,

NOTHING therefore remained but to send a person to Peru, vested with extensive and discretionary power, who, after viewing deliberately the posture of affairs with his own eyes, and enquiring upon the spot into the conduct of the different leaders, should be authorised to establish the government in that form which he deemed most conducive to the interest of the parent state, and the welfare of the colony. The man selected for this important charge was Christoval Vaca de Castro, a judge in the court of royal audience at Valladolid; and his abilities, integrity, and firmness, justified the choice. His instructions, though ample, were not such as to fetter him in his operations. According to the different aspect of affairs, he had power to take upon him different characters. If he found the governor still alive, he was to assume only the title of judge, to maintain the appearance of acting in concert with him, and to guard against giving any just cause of offence to a man who had merited so highly of his country. But if Pizarro were dead, he was entrusted with a commission that he might then produce, by which he was appointed his successor in the government of Peru. This attention to Pizarro, however, seems to have flowed rather from dread of his power, than from any approbation of his measures; for at the very time that the court seemed so solicitous not to irritate him, his brother Ferdinand was arrested at Madrid, and

confined

confined to a prifon, where he remained above twenty years [1].

1540. Pizarro divides Peru among his followers.

While Vaca de Caftro was preparing for his voyage, events of great moment happened in Peru. The governor, confidering himfelf, upon the death of Almagro, as the unrivalled poffeffor of that vaft empire, proceeded to parcel out its territories among the conquerors; and had this divifion been made with any degree of impartiality, the extent of country which he had to beftow, was fufficient to have gratified his friends, and to have gained his enemies. But Pizarro conducted this tranfaction, not with the equity and candour of a judge attentive to difcover and to reward merit, but with the illiberal fpirit of a party leader. Large diftricts, in parts of the country moft cultivated and populous, were fet apart as his own property, or granted to his brothers, his adherents and favourites. To others, lots lefs valuable and inviting were affigned. The followers of Almagro, amongft whom were many of the original adventurers to whofe valour and perfeverance Pizarro was indebted for his fuccefs, were totally excluded from any portion in thofe lands, towards the acquifition of which they had contributed fo largely. As the vanity of every individual fet an immoderate value upon his own fervices, and the idea of each concerning the re-

[1] Gomara Hift. c. 142. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 40. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. viii. c. 10, 11. lib. x. c. 1.

 compence

BOOK VI. 1540.

compence due to them roſe gradually to a more exorbitant height in proportion as their conqueſts extended, all who were diſappointed in their expectations exclaimed loudly againſt the rapaciouſneſs and partiality of the governor. The partiſans of Almagro murmured in ſecret, and meditated revenge [t].

Progreſs of the Spaniſh arms.

RAPID as the progreſs of the Spaniards in South America had been ſince Pizarro landed in Peru, their avidity of dominion was not yet ſatisfied. The officers, to whom Ferdinand Pizarro gave the command of different detachments, penetrated into ſeveral new provinces, and though ſome of them were expoſed to great hardſhips in the cold and barren regions of the Andes, and others ſuffered diſtreſs not inferior amidſt the woods and marſhes of the plains, they made diſcoveries and conqueſts which extended their knowledge of the country, as well as added to their power. Pedro de Valdivia reaſſumed Almagro's ſcheme of invading Chili, and notwithſtanding the fortitude of the natives in defending their poſſeſſions, made ſuch progreſs in the conqueſt of the country, that he founded the city of St. Jago, and gave a beginning to the eſtabliſhment of the Spaniſh dominion in that province [u]. But of all the enterprizes undertaken about this period, that of Gonzalo Pizarro was

Remarkable expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro.

[t] Vega, p. II. lib. iii. c. 2. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. viii. c. 5.

[u] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 13. Ovalle, lib. ii. c. 1, &c.

the

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the moſt remarkable. The governor, who ſeems to have reſolved that no perſon in Peru ſhould poſſeſs any ſtation of diſtinguiſhed eminence or authority but thoſe of his own family, had deprived Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, of his command in that kingdom, and appointed his brother Gonzalo to take the government of it. He inſtructed him to attempt the diſcovery and conqueſt of the country to the eaſt of the Andes, which, according to the information of the Indians, abounded with cinnamon and other valuable ſpices. Gonzalo, not inferior to any of his brothers in courage, and no leſs ambitious of acquiring diſtinction, eagerly engaged in this difficult ſervice. He ſet out from Quito at the head of three hundred and forty ſoldiers, near one half of whom were horſemen, with four thouſand Indians to carry their proviſions. In forcing their way through the defiles, or over the ridges of the Andes, exceſs of cold and fatigue, to neither of which they were accuſtomed, proved fatal to the greater part of their wretched attendants. The Spaniards, though more robuſt, and inured to a variety of climates, ſuffered conſiderably, and loſt ſome men; but when they deſcended into the low country their diſtreſs increaſed. During two months it rained inceſſantly, without any interval of fair weather long enough to dry their clothes [x]. The vaſt plains upon which they were now entering,

Hardſhips they endure.

[x] Zarate, lib. iv. c. 2.

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either altogether without inhabitants, or occupied by the rudeſt and leaſt induſtrious tribes in the New World, yielded little ſubſiſtence. They could not advance a ſtep but as they cut a road through woods, or made it through marſhes. Such inceſſant toil, and continual ſcarcity of food, ſeem more than ſufficient to have exhauſted and diſpirited any troops. But the fortitude and perſeverance of Spaniards in the ſixteenth century were inſuperable. Allured by frequent but falſe accounts of rich countries before them, they perſiſted in ſtruggling on, until they reached the banks of the Coca or Napo, one of the large rivers whoſe waters pour into the Maragnon, and contribute to its grandeur. There, with infinite labour, they built a bark, which they expected would prove of great utility, in conveying them over rivers, in procuring proviſions, and in exploring the country. This was manned with fifty ſoldiers, under the command of Francis Orellana, the officer next in rank to Pizarro. The ſtream carried them down with ſuch rapidity, that they were ſoon far a-head of their countrymen, who followed ſlowly and with difficulty by land.

Deſerted by Orellana.

AT this diſtance from his commander, Orellana, a young man of an aſpiring mind, began to fancy himſelf independent, and tranſported with the predominant paſſion of the age, he formed the ſcheme of diſtinguiſhing himſelf as a diſcoverer, by following the courſe of the Maragnon, until it joined

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the ocean, and by ſurveying the vaſt regions through which it flows. This ſcheme of Orellana's was as bold as it was treacherous. For, if he be chargeable with the guilt of having violated his duty to his commander, and with having abandoned his fellow-ſoldiers in a pathleſs deſert, where they had hardly any hopes of ſucceſs, or even of ſafety, but what were founded on the ſervice which they expected from the bark; his crime is, in ſome meaſure, balanced by the glory of having ventured upon a navigation of near two thouſand leagues, through unknown nations, in a veſſel haſtily conſtructed, with green timber, and by very unſkilful hands, without proviſions, without a compaſs, or a pilot. But his courage and alacrity ſupplied every defect. Committing himſelf fearleſsly to the guidance of the ſtream, the Napo bore him along to the ſouth, until he reached the great channel of the Maragnon. Turning with it towards the coaſt, he held on his courſe in that direction. He made frequent deſcents on both ſides of the river, ſometimes ſeizing by force of arms the proviſions of the fierce ſavages ſeated on its banks; and ſometimes procuring a ſupply of food by a friendly intercourſe with more gentle tribes. After a long ſeries of dangers, which he encountered with amazing fortitude, and of diſtreſſes which he ſupported with no leſs magnanimity, he reached the ocean [y], where new perils awaited him. Theſe he likewiſe ſur-

Sails down the Maragnon.

[y] See NOTE XIII.

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mounted, and got ſafe to the Spaniſh ſettlement in the iſland Cubagua; from thence he ſailed to Spain. The vanity natural to travellers who viſit regions unknown to the reſt of mankind, and the art of an adventurer, ſolicitous to magnify his own merit, concurred in prompting him to mingle an extraordinary proportion of the marvellous in the narrative of his voyage. He pretended to have diſcovered nations ſo rich, that the roofs of their temples were covered with plates of gold; and deſcribed a republic of women ſo warlike and powerful, as to have extended their dominion over a conſiderable tract of the fertile plains which he had viſited. Extravagant as thoſe tales were, they gave riſe to an opinion, that a region abounding with gold, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *El Dorado*, and a community of Amazons, were to be found in this part of the New World; and ſuch is the propenſity of mankind to believe what is wonderful that it has been ſlowly and with difficulty that reaſon and obſervation have exploded thoſe fables. The voyage, however, even when ſtripped of every romantic embelliſhment, deſerves to be recorded, not only as one of the moſt memorable occurrences in that adventurous age, but as the firſt event which led to any certain knowledge of the immenſe regions that ſtretch eaſtward from the Andes to the ocean [y].

[y] Zarate, lib. iv. c. 4. Gomara Hiſt. c. 86. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 4. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. ix. c. 2—5. Rodriguez El Maragnon y Amazonas, lib. i. c. 3.

No

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1540. Diſtreſs of Pizarro.

No words can deſcribe the conſternation of Pizarro, when he did not find the bark at the confluence of the Napo and Maragnon, where he had ordered Orellana to wait for him. He would not allow himſelf to ſuſpect that a man, whom he had intruſted with ſuch an important command, could be ſo baſe and ſo unfeeling, as to deſert him at ſuch a juncture. But imputing his abſence from the place of rendezvous to ſome unknown accident, he advanced above fifty leagues along the banks of the Maragnon, expecting every moment to ſee the bark appear with a ſupply of proviſions. At 1541. length he came up with an officer whom Orellana had left to periſh in the deſert, becauſe he had the courage to remonſtrate againſt his perfidy. From him he learned the extent of Orellana's crime, and his followers perceived at once their own deſperate ſituation, when deprived of their only reſource. The ſpirit of the ſtouteſt hearted veteran ſunk within him, and all demanded to be led back inſtantly. Pizarro, though he aſſumed an appearance of tranquillity, did not oppoſe their inclination. But he was now twelve hundred miles from Quito; and in that long march the Spaniards encountered hardſhips greater than thoſe they had endured in their progreſs outward, without the alluring hopes which then ſoothed and animated them under their ſufferings. Hunger compelled them to feed on roots and berries, to eat all their dogs and horſes, to devour the moſt loathſome reptiles, and even to

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gnaw the leather of their ſaddles and ſword-belts. Four thouſand Indians, and two hundred and ten Spaniards periſhed in this wild diſaſtrous expedition, which continued near two years; and as fifty men were aboard the bark with Orellana, only fourſcore got back to Quito. Theſe were naked like ſavages, and ſo emaciated with famine, or worn out with fatigue, that they had more the appearance of ſpectres than of men [z].

Number of malecontents in Peru.

BUT, inſtead of returning to enjoy the repoſe which his condition required, Pizarro, on entering Quito, received accounts of a fatal event that threatened calamities more dreadful to him, than thoſe through which he had paſſed. From the time that his brother made that partial diviſion of his conqueſts which has been mentioned, the adherents of Almagro, conſidering themſelves as proſcribed by the party in power, no longer entertained any hope of bettering their condition. Great numbers in deſpair reſorted to Lima, where the houſe of young Almagro was always open to them, and the ſlender portion of his father's fortune, which the governor allowed him to enjoy, was ſpent in affording them ſubſiſtence. The warm attachment with which every perſon who had ſerved under the elder Almagro devoted himſelf to his intereſts, was quickly transferred to

[z] Zarate, lib. iv. c. 2—5. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 3, 4, 5. 14. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. viii. c. 7, 8. lib. ix. c. 2—5. dec. 7. lib. iii. c. 14. Pizar. Vanorez Illuſtr. 349, &c.

his

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his fon, who was now grown up to the age of manhood, and poffeffed all the qualities which captivate the affections of foldiers. Of a graceful appearance, dexterous at all martial exercifes, bold, open, generous, he feemed to be formed for command; and as his father, confcious of his own inferiority from the total want of education, had been extremely attentive to have him inftructed in every fcience becoming a gentleman; the accomplifhments which he had acquired heightened the refpect of his followers, as they gave him diftinction and eminence among illiterate adventurers. In this young man the Almagrians found a point of union which they wanted, and looking up to him as their head, were ready to undertake any thing for his advancement. Nor was affection for Almagro their only incitement; they were urged on by their own diftreffes. Many of them, deftitute of common neceffaries [a], and weary of loitering away life, a burden to their chief, or to fuch of their affociates as had faved fome remnant of their fortune from pillage and confifcation, longed impatiently for an occafion to exert their activity and courage, and began to deliberate how they might be avenged on the author of all their mifery. Their frequent cabals did not pafs unobferved; and the governor was warned to be on his guard againft men who meditated fome defperate deed, and had refolution to execute it. But either from

Confider young Almagro as their leader.

Confpire againft the life of Pizarro,

[a] See NOTE XIV.

the

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the native intrepidity of his mind, or from contempt of perſons whoſe poverty ſeemed to render their machinations of little conſequence, he diſregarded the admonitions of his friends. "Be in no pain," ſaid he careleſsly, "about my life, it is perfectly ſafe, as long as every man in Peru knows that I can in a moment cut off any head which dares to harbour a thought againſt it." This ſecurity gave the Almagrians full leiſure to digeſt and ripen every part of their ſcheme; and Juan de Herrada, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of Almagro's education, took the direction of their conſultations, with all the zeal which this connection inſpired, and with all the authority which the aſcendant that he was known to have over the mind of his pupil gave him.

and kill him.

On Sunday, the twenty ſixth of June, at midday, the ſeaſon of tranquillity and repoſe in all ſultry climates, Herrada, at the head of eighteen of the moſt determined conſpirators, ſallied out of Almagro's houſe in complete armour; and drawing their ſwords, as they advanced haſtily towards the governor's palace, cried out, "Long live the king, but let the tyrant die!" Their aſſociates, warned of their motions by a ſignal, were in arms at different ſtations ready to ſupport them. Though Pizarro was uſually ſurrounded by ſuch a numerous train of attendants as ſuited the magnificence of the moſt opulent ſubject of the age in which he lived, yet as he was juſt riſen from table, and moſt

of

of his domeſtics had retired to their own apartments, the conſpirators paſſed through the two outer courts of the palace unobſerved. They were at the bottom of the ſtaircaſe, before a page in waiting could give the alarm to his maſter, who was converſing with a few friends in a large hall. The governor, whoſe ſteady mind no form of danger could appal, ſtarting up, called for arms, and commanded Franciſco de Chaves to make faſt the door. But that officer, who did not retain ſo much preſence of mind as to obey this prudent order, runnning to the top of the ſtair-caſe, wildly aſked the conſpirators what they meant, and whither they were going? Inſtead of anſwering, they ſtabbed him to the heart, and burſt into the hall. Some of the perſons who were there threw themſelves from the windows; others attempted to fly; and a few drawing their ſwords, followed their leader into an inner apartment. The conſpirators, animated with having the object of their vengeance now in view, ruſhed forward after them. Pizarro, with no other arms than his ſword and buckler, defended the entry, and ſupported by his half-brother Alcantara, and his little knot of friends, he maintained the unequal conteſt with intrepidity worthy of his paſt exploits, and with the vigour of a youthful combatant. "Courage," cried he, "companions, we are yet enow to make thoſe traitors repent of their audacity." But the armour of the conſpirators protected them, while every thruſt they made took effect. Alcantara fell dead

at

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at his brother's feet; his other defenders were mortally wounded. The governor, ſo weary that he could hardly wield his ſword, and no longer able to parry the many weapons furiouſly aimed at him, received a deadly thruſt full in his throat, ſunk to the ground, and expired.

Almagro acknowledged as his ſucceſſor.

As ſoon as he was ſlain, the aſſaſſins ran out into the ſtreets, and waving their bloody ſwords, proclaimed the death of the tyrant. Above two hundred of their aſſociates having joined them, they conducted young Almagro in ſolemn proceſſion through the city, and aſſembling the magiſtrates and principal citizens, compelled them to acknowledge him as lawful ſucceſſor to his father in his government. The palace of Pizarro, together with the houſes of ſeveral of his adherents, were pillaged by the ſoldiers, who had the ſatiſfaction at once of being avenged on their enemies, and of enriching themſelves by the ſpoils of thoſe through whoſe hands all the wealth of Peru had paſſed[b].

New appearances of diſcord.

THE boldneſs and ſucceſs of the conſpiracy, as well as the name and popular qualities of Almagro, drew many ſoldiers to his ſtandard. Every adventurer of deſperate fortune, all who who were diſſatisfied with Pizarro, and from the rapaciouſ-

[b] Zarate, lib. iv. c. 6—8. Gomara Hiſt. c. 144, 145. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 5—7. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. x. c. 4—7. Pizarro Var. Illuſt. p. 183.

neſs

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neſs of his government in the latter years of his life, the number of malcontents was conſiderable, declared without heſitation in favour of Almagro, and he was ſoon at the head of eight hundred of the moſt gallant veterans in Peru. As his youth and inexperience diſqualified him from taking the command of them himſelf, he appointed Herrada to act as general. But though Almagro ſpeedily collected ſuch a reſpectable force, the acquieſcence in his government was far from being general. Pizarro had left many friends to whom his memory was dear; the barbarous aſſaſſination of a man to whom his country was ſo highly indebted, filled every impartial perſon with horror. The ignominious birth of Almagro, as well as the doubtful title on which he founded his pretenſions, led others to conſider him as an uſurper. The officers who commanded in ſome provinces refuſed to recognize his authority, until it was confirmed by the emperor. In others, particularly at Cuzco, the royal ſtandard was erected, and preparations made to revenge the murder of their ancient leader.

Arrival of Vaca de Caſtro,

Those ſeeds of diſcord, which could not have lain long dormant, acquired great vigour and activity, when the arrival of Vaca de Caſtro was known. After a long and diſaſtrous voyage, he was driven by ſtreſs of weather into a ſmall harbour in the province of Popayan; and proceeding from thence by land, after a journey no leſs tedious

than

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than difficult, he reached Quito. In his way he received accounts of Pizarro's death, and of the events which followed upon it. He immediately produced the royal commiſſion appointing him governor of Peru, with the ſame privileges and authority; and his juriſdiction was acknowledged without heſitation by Benalcazar, Adelantado, or lieutenant general for the emperor in Popayan, and by Pedro de Puelles, who, in the abſence of Gonzalo Pizarro, had the command of the troops left in Quito. Vaca de Caſtro not only aſſumed the ſupreme authority, but ſhewed that he poſſeſſed the talents which the exerciſe of it at that juncture required. By his influence and addreſs he ſoon aſſembled ſuch a body of troops, as not only ſet him above all fear of being expoſed to any inſult from the adverſe party, but enabled him to advance from Quito with the dignity that became his character. By diſpatching perſons of confidence to the different ſettlements in Peru, with a formal notification of his arrival and of his commiſſion, he communicated to his countrymen the royal pleaſure with reſpect to the government of the country. By private emiſſaries, he excited ſuch officers as had diſcovered their diſapprobation of Almagro's proceedings, to manifeſt their duty to their ſovereign by ſupporting the perſon honoured with his commiſſion. Thoſe meaſures were productive of great effects. Encouraged by the approach of the new governor, or prepared by his machinations, the loyal were confirmed in their principles,

principles, and avowed them with greater boldneſs; the timid ventured to declare their ſentiments; the neutral and wavering, finding it neceſſary to chuſe a ſide, began to lean to that which now appeared to be the ſafeſt as well as the moſt juſt [c]. 1541.

Conduct of Almagro.

ALMAGRO obſerved the rapid progreſs of this ſpirit of diſaffection to his cauſe, and in order to give an effectual check to it before the arrival of Vaca de Caſtro, he ſet out at the head of his troops 1542. for Cuzco, where the moſt conſiderable body of opponents had erected the royal ſtandard, under the command of Pedro Alvarez Holguin. During his march thither, Herrada, the ſkilful guide of his youth and of his counſels, died; and from that time his meaſures were conſpicuous for their violence, but concerted with little ſagacity, and executed with no addreſs. Holguin, who, with forces far inferior to thoſe of the oppoſite party, was deſcending towards the coaſt at the very time that Almagro was on his way to Cuzco, deceived his unexperienced adverſary by a very ſimple ſtratagem, avoided an engagement, and effected a junction with Alvarado, an officer of note, who had been the firſt to declare againſt Almagro as an uſurper.

Progreſs of Vaca de Caſtro.

SOON after, Vaca de Caſtro entered their camp with the troops which he brought from Quito,

[c] Benzon, lib. iii. c. 9. Zarate, lib. iv. c. 11. Gomara, c. 146, 147. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. x. c. 1, 2, 3. 7, &c.

and

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and erecting the royal ſtandard before his own tent, he declared, that as governor, he would diſcharge in perſon all the functions of general of their combined forces. Though formed by the tenour of his paſt life to the habits of a ſedentary and pacific profeſſion, he at once aſſumed the activity and diſcovered the deciſion of an officer long accuſtomed to command. Knowing his ſtrength to be now far ſuperior to that of the enemy, he was impatient to terminate the conteſt by a battle. Nor did the followers of Almagro, who had no hopes of obtaining a pardon for a crime ſo atrocious as the murder of the governor, decline that mode of deciſion. They met at Chupas, about two hundred miles from Cuzco, and fought with all the fierce animoſity inſpired by the violence of civil rage, the rancour of private enmity, the eagerneſs of revenge, and the laſt efforts of deſpair.

Sept. 16.

Defeats Almagro.

Victory, after remaining long doubtful, declared at laſt for Vaca de Caſtro. The ſuperior number of his troops, his own intrepidity, and the martial talents of Franciſco de Carvajal, a veteran officer formed under the great captain in the wars of Italy, and who on that day laid the foundation of his future fame in Peru, triumphed over the bravery of his opponents, though led on by young Almagro with a gallant ſpirit, worthy of a better cauſe, and deſerving another fate. The carnage was great in proportion to the number of the combatants. Many of the vanquiſhed, eſpecially ſuch as were conſcious that they might be charged with being

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being acceſſory to the aſſaſſination of Pizarro, ruſhing on the ſwords of the enemy, choſe to fall like ſoldiers, rather than wait an ignominious doom. Of fourten hundred men, the total amount of combatants on both ſides, five hundred lay dead on the field, and the number of the wounded was ſtill greater [d].

Severity of his proceedings.

If the military talents diſplayed by Vaca de Caſtro, both in the council and in the field, ſurpriſed the adventurers in Peru, they were ſtill more aſtoniſhed at his conduct after the victory. As he was by nature a rigid diſpenſer of juſtice, and perſuaded that it required examples of extraordinary ſeverity to reſtrain the licentious ſpirit of ſoldiers ſo far removed from the ſeat of government, he proceeded directly to try his priſoners as rebels. Forty were condemned to ſuffer the death of traitors, others were baniſhed from Peru. Their leader, who made his eſcape from the battle, being betrayed by ſome of his officers, was publicly beheaded in Cuzco; and in him the name of Almagro, and the ſpirit of the party, was extinct [e].

Conſultations of the emperor concerning his dominions in America.

During thoſe violent convulſions in Peru, the emperor and his miniſters were intently employed

[d] Zarate, lib. iv. c. 12—19. Gomara, c. 148. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 11—18. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. i. c. 1, 2, 3. lib. iii. c. 1—11.

[e] Zarate, lib. iv. c. 21. Gomara, c. 150. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. iii. c. 12. lib. vi. c. 1.

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in preparing regulations, by which they hoped not only to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity there, but to introduce a more perfect ſyſtem of internal policy into all their ſettlements in the New World. It is manifeſt from all the events recorded in the hiſtory of America, that rapid and extenſive as the Spaniſh conqueſts there had been, they were not carried on by any regular exertion of the national force, but by the occaſional efforts of private adventurers. After fitting out a few of the firſt armaments for diſcovering new regions, the court of Spain, during the buſy reigns of Ferdinand and of Charles V., the former the moſt intriguing prince of the age, and the latter the moſt ambitious, was encumbered with ſuch a multiplicity of ſchemes, and involved in war with ſo many nations in Europe, that it had not leiſure to attend to diſtant and leſs intereſting objects. The care of proſecuting diſcovery, or of attempting conqueſt, was abandoned to individuals; and with ſuch ardour did men puſh forward in this new career, on which novelty, the ſpirit of adventure, avarice, ambition, and the hope of meriting heaven, prompted them with combined influence to enter, that in leſs than half a century almoſt the whole of that extenſive empire which Spain now poſſeſſes in the New World, was ſubjected to its dominion. As the Spaniſh court contributed nothing towards the various expeditions undertaken in America, it was not intitled to claim much from their ſucceſs. The ſovereignty of the conquered provinces, with the fifth of the gold and

and ſilver, was reſerved for the crown; every thing elſe was ſeized by the aſſociates in each expedition as their own right. The plunder of the countries which they invaded ſerved to indemnify them for what they had expended in equipping themſelves for the ſervice, and the conquered territory was divided among them, according to rules which cuſtom had introduced, as permanent eſtabliſhments which their ſucceſsful valour merited. In the infancy of thoſe ſettlements, when their extent as well as their value were unknown, many irregularities eſcaped obſervation, and it was found neceſſary to connive at many exceſſes. The conquered people were pillaged with deſtructive rapacity, and their country parcelled out among its new maſters in exorbitant ſhares, far exceeding the higheſt recompence due to their ſervices. The rude conquerors of America, incapable of forming their eſtabliſhments upon any general or extenſive plan of policy, attentive only to private intereſt, unwilling to forego preſent gain from the proſpect of remote or public benefit, ſeem to have had no object but to amaſs ſudden wealth, without regarding what might be the conſequences of the means by which they acquired it. But when time at length diſcovered to the Spaniſh court the importance of its American poſſeſſions, the neceſſity of new-modelling their whole frame became obvious, and in place of the maxims and practices prevalent among military adventurers,

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it was found requiſite to ſubſtitute the inſtitutions of regular government.

ONE evil in particular called for an immediate remedy. The conquerors of Mexico and Peru imitated the fatal example of their countrymen ſettled in the iſlands, and employed themſelves in ſearching for gold and ſilver with the ſame inconſiderate eagerneſs. Similar effects followed. The natives employed in this labour by maſters, who in impoſing taſks had no regard either to what they felt or to what they were able to perform, pined away and periſhed ſo faſt, that there was reaſon to apprehend that Spain, inſtead of poſſeſſing countries peopled to ſuch a degree as to be ſuſceptible of progreſſive improvement, would ſoon remain proprietor only of a vaſt uninhabited deſert.

THE emperor and his miniſters were ſo ſenſible of this, and ſo ſolicitous to prevent the extinction of the Indian race, which threatened to render their acquiſitions of no value, that from time to time various laws, which I have mentioned, had been made for ſecuring to that unhappy people more gentle and equitable treatment. But the diſtance of America from the ſeat of empire, the feebleneſs of government in the new colonies, the avarice and audacity of ſoldiers unaccuſtomed to reſtraint, prevented theſe ſalutary regulations from operating with any conſiderable influence. The evil continued

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The perſons with whom he adviſes.

nued to grow, and at this time the emperor found an interval of leiſure from the affairs of Europe to take it into attentive conſideration. He conſulted not only with his miniſters and the members of the council of the Indies, but called upon ſeveral perſons who had reſided long in the New World, to aid them with the reſult of their experience and obſervation. Fortunately for the people of America, among theſe was Bartholomew de las Caſas, who happened to be then at Madrid on a miſſion from a chapter of his order at Chiapa [f]. Though, ſince the miſcarriage of his former ſchemes for the relief of the Indians, he had continued ſhut up in his cloiſter, or occupied in religious functions, his zeal in behalf of the former objects of his pity was ſo far from abating, that, from an increaſed knowledge of their ſufferings, its ardour had augmented. He ſeized eagerly this opportunity of reviving his favourite maxims concerning the treatment of the Indians. With the moving eloquence natural to a man on whoſe mind the ſcenes which he had beheld had made a deep impreſſion, he deſcribed the irreparable waſte of the human ſpecies in the New World, the Indian race almoſt totally ſwept away in the iſlands in leſs than fifty years, and haſtening to extinction on the continent with the ſame rapid decay. With the deciſive tone of one ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed with the truth of his own ſyſtem, he imputed all this

[f] Remeſal Hiſt. de Chiapa, p. 146.

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to a ſingle cauſe, to the exactions and cruelty of his countrymen, and contended that nothing could prevent the depopulation of America, but the declaring of its natives to be freemen, and treating them as ſubjects, not as ſlaves. Nor did he confide for the ſucceſs of this propoſal in the powers of his oratory alone. In order to enforce them, he compoſed his famous treatiſe concerning the deſtruction of America [g], in which he relates, with many horrid circumſtances, but with apparent marks of exaggerated deſcription, the devaſtation of every province which had been viſited by the Spaniards.

His ſolicitude to introduce a general reformation of government.

THE emperor was deeply afflicted with the recital of ſo many actions ſhocking to humanity. But as his views extended far beyond thoſe of Las Caſas, he perceived that relieving the Indians from oppreſſion was but one ſtep towards rendering his poſſeſſions in the New World a valuable acquiſition, and would be of little avail, unleſs he could circumſcribe the power and uſurpations of his own ſubjects there. The conquerors of America, however great their merit had been towards their country, were moſtly perſons of ſuch mean birth, and of ſuch abject rank in ſociety, as gave no diſtinction in the eye of a monarch. The exorbitant wealth with which ſome of them returned, gave umbrage to an age not accuſtomed to ſee men in

[g] Remeſal, p. 192. 199.

inferior

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inferior condition elevated above their level, and rising to emulate or to surpass the ancient nobility in splendour. The territories which their leaders had appropriated to themselves were of such enormous extent [h], that if the country should ever be improved in proportion to the fertility of the soil, they must grow too wealthy and too powerful for subjects. It appeared to Charles, that this abuse required a remedy no less than the other, and that the regulations concerning both must be enforced by a mode of government more vigorous than had yet been introduced into America.

New regulations for this purpose.

WITH this view he framed a body of laws, containing many salutary appointments with respect to the constitution and powers of the supreme council of the Indies; concerning the station and jurisdiction of the royal audiences in different parts of America; the administration of justice; the order of government, both ecclesiastical and civil. These were approved of by all ranks of men. But together with them were issued the following regulations, which excited universal alarm, and occasioned the most violent convulsions: "That as the *repartimientos* or shares of land seized by several persons appeared to be excessive, the royal audiences are empowered to reduce them to a moderate extent: That upon the death of any conqueror or planter, the lands and Indians granted

[h] See NOTE XV.

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to him shall not descend to his widow or children, but return to the crown: That the Indians shall henceforth be exempted from personal service, and shall not be compelled to carry the baggage of travellers, to labour in the mines, or to dive in the pearl fisheries: That the stated tribute due by them to their superior shall be ascertained, and they shall be paid as servants for any work they voluntarily perform: That all persons who are or have been in public offices, ecclesiastics of every denomination, hospitals and monasteries, shall be deprived of the lands and Indians allotted to them, and these be annexed to the crown: That every person in Peru, who had any criminal concern in the contests between Pizarro and Almagro, should forfeit his lands and Indians [i]."

His ministers remonstrate against them.

ALL the Spanish ministers who had hitherto been entrusted with the direction of American affairs, and who were best acquainted with the state of the country, remonstrated against those regulations as ruinous to their infant colonies. They represented, that the number of Spaniards who had hitherto emigrated to the New World was so extremely small, that nothing could be expected from any effort of theirs towards improving the vast regions over which they were scattered; that the success of every scheme for this purpose must

[i] Herrera, dec. 7. lib. vi. c. 5. Fernandez Hist. lib. i. c. 1, 2.

depend

depend upon the miniſtry and ſervice of the Indians, whoſe native indolence and averſion to labour, no proſpect of benefit or promiſe of reward could ſurmount; that the moment the right of impoſing a taſk, and exacting the performance of it, was taken from their maſters, every work of induſtry muſt ceaſe, and all the ſources from which wealth begun to pour in upon Spain muſt be ſtopt for ever. But Charles, tenacious at all times of his own opinions, and ſo much impreſſed at preſent with the view of the diſorders which reigned in America, that he was willing to hazard the application even of a dangerous remedy, perſiſted in his reſolution of publiſhing the laws. That they might be carried into execution with greater vigour and authority, he authoriſed Franciſco Tello de Sandoval to repair to Mexico as *Viſitador* or ſuperintendent of that country, and to co-operate with Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy, in enforcing them. He appointed Blaſco Nugnez Vela to be governor of Peru, with the title of Viceroy; and in order to ſtrengthen his adminiſtration, he eſtabliſhed a court of royal audience in Lima, in which four lawyers of eminence were to preſide as judges[k].

1542. A viceroy appointed for Peru. 1543.

THE viceroy and ſuperintendent ſailed at the ſame time; and an account of the laws which they were to enforce reached America before them.

Effects of the regulation in New Spain.

[k] Zarate, lib. iii. c. 24. Gomara, c. 151. Vega, p. 2. lib. iii. c. 20.

The

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The entry of Sandoval into Mexico was viewed as the prelude of general ruin. The unlimited grant of liberty to the Indians affected every Spaniard in America without distinction, and there was hardly one who might not on some pretext be included under the other regulations, and suffer by them. But the colony in New Spain had now been so long accustomed to the restraints of law and authority under the steady and prudent administration of Mendoza, that how much soever the spirit of the new statutes was detested and dreaded, no attempt was made to obstruct the publication of them by any act of violence unbecoming subjects. The magistrates and principal inhabitants, however, presented dutiful addresses to the viceroy and superintendent, representing the fatal consequences of enforcing them. Happily for them, Mendoza, by long residence in the country, was so thoroughly acquainted with its state, that he knew what was for its interest as well as what it could bear; and Sandoval, though new in office, displayed a degree of moderation seldom possessed by persons just entering upon the exercise of power. They engaged to suspend, for some time, the execution of what was offensive in the new laws, and not only consented that a deputation of citizens should be sent to Europe to lay before the emperor the apprehensions of his subjects in New Spain with respect to their tendency and effects, but they concurred with them in supporting their sentiments. Charles, moved by the opinion of

men whoſe abilities and integrity intitled them to decide concerning what fell immediately under their own view, granted ſuch a relaxation of the rigour of the laws as re-eſtabliſhed the colony in its former tranquillity [l].

In Peru.

In Peru the ſtorm gathered with an aſpect ſtill more fierce and threatening, and was not ſo ſoon diſperſed. The conquerors of Peru, of a rank much inferior to thoſe who had ſubjected Mexico to the Spaniſh crown, farther removed from the inſpection of the parent ſtate, and intoxicated with the ſudden acquiſition of wealth, carried on all their operations with greater licence and irregularity than any body of adventurers in the New World. Amidſt the general ſubverſion of law and order, occaſioned by two ſucceſſive civil wars, when each individual was at liberty to decide for himſelf, without any guide but his own intereſt or paſſions, this turbulent ſpirit roſe above all ſenſe of ſubordination. To men thus corrupted by anarchy, the introduction of regular government, the power of a viceroy, and the authority of a reſpectable court of judicature, would have appeared formidable reſtraints, to which they would have ſubmitted with reluctance. But they revolted with indignation againſt the idea of complying with laws, by which they were to be ſtripped at

[l] Fernandez Hiſt. lib. i. c. 3, 4, 5. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 21, 22. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. v. c. 7. lib. vii. c. 14, 15. Torquem. Mon. Ind. lib. v. c. 13.

once

BOOK VI. 1543. once of all they had earned fo hardly during many years of fervice and fuffering. As the account of the new laws fpread fucceffively through the different fettlements, the inhabitants ran together, the women in tears, and the men exclaiming againft the injuftice and ingratitude of their fovereign in depriving them, unheard and unconvicted, of their poffeffions. "Is this, cried they, the recompence due to perfons, who, without public aid, at their own expence, and by their own valour, have fubjected to the crown of Caftile territories of fuch vaft extent and opulence? Are thefe the rewards beftowed for having endured unparalleled diftrefs, for having encountered every fpecies of danger in the fervice of their country? Whofe merit is fo great, whofe conduct has been fo irreproachable, that he may not be condemned by fome penal claufe in regulations, conceived in terms as loofe and comprehenfive, as if it had been intended that all fhould be entangled in their fnare? Every Spaniard of note in Peru has held fome public office, and all, without diftinction, have been conftrained to take an active part in the conteft between the two rival chiefs. Were the former to be robbed of their property becaufe they had done their duty? Were the latter to be punifhed on account of what they could not avoid? Shall the conquerors of this great empire, inftead of receiving marks of diftinction, be deprived of the natural confolation of providing for their widows and children, and leave them to depend for fubfiftence

ſubſiſtence on the ſcanty ſupply they can extort from unfeeling courtiers [m]? We are not able now, continued they, to explore unknown regions in queſt of more ſecure ſettlements; our conſtitutions, debilitated with age, and our bodies covered with wounds, are no longer fit for active ſervice; but ſtill we poſſeſs vigour ſufficient to aſſert our juſt rights, and we will not tamely ſuffer them to be wreſted from us [n]."

An inſurrection prevented by the moderation of Caſtro.

By diſcourſes of this ſort, uttered with vehemence, and liſtened to with univerſal approbation, their paſſions were inflamed to ſuch a pitch, that they were prepared for the moſt violent meaſures; and began to hold conſultations in different places, how they might oppoſe the entrance of the viceroy and judges, and prevent not only the execution but the promulgation of the new laws. From this, however, they were diverted by the addreſs of Vaca de Caſtro, who flattered them with the hopes, that, as ſoon as the viceroy and judges ſhould arrive, and had leiſure to examine their petitions and remonſtrances, they would concur with them in endeavouring to procure ſome mitigation in the rigour of laws which had been framed without due attention either to the ſtate of the country, or to the ſentiments of the people. A greater degree of accommodation to theſe, and even ſome conceſſions

[m] Herrera, dec. 7. lib. vii. c. 14, 15.

[n] Gomara, c. 152. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. vi. c. 10, 11. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 20. 22. lib. iv. c. 3, 4.

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on the part of government, were now become requiſite to compoſe the preſent ferment, and to ſooth the coloniſts into ſubmiſſion, by inſpiring them with confidence in their ſuperiors. But without profound diſcernment, conciliating manners, and flexibility of temper, ſuch a plan could not be carried on. The viceroy poſſeſſed none of theſe. Of all the qualities that fit men for high command, he was endowed only with integrity and courage; the former harſh and uncomplying, the latter bordering ſo frequently on raſhneſs or obſtinacy, that in his ſituation they were defects rather than virtues. From the moment that he landed at Tumbez, Nugnez Vela ſeems to have conſidered himſelf merely as an executive officer, without any diſcretionary power; and, regardleſs of whatever he obſerved or heard concerning the ſtate of the country, he adhered to the letter of the regulations with unrelenting rigour. In all the towns through which he paſſed, the natives were declared to be free, every perſon in public office was deprived of his lands and ſervants; and as an example of obedience to others, he would not ſuffer a ſingle Indian to be employed in carrying his own baggage in his march towards Lima. Amazement and conſternation went before him as he approached; and ſo little ſolicitous was he to prevent theſe from augmenting, that, on entering the capital, he openly avowed that he came to obey the orders of his ſovereign, not to diſpenſe with his laws. This harſh declaration was accompanied with what rendered

The ſpirit of diſaffection increaſed by the viceroy.

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rendered it ſtill more intolerable, haughtineſs in deportment, a tone of arrogance and deciſion in diſcourſe, and an inſolence of office grievous to men little accuſtomed to hold civil authority in high reſpect. Every attempt to procure a ſuſpenſion or mitigation of the new laws, the viceroy conſidered as flowing from a ſpirit of diſaffection that tended to rebellion. Several perſons of rank were confined, and ſome put to death, without any form of trial. Vaca de Caſtro was arreſted, and notwithſtanding the dignity of his former rank, and his merit in having prevented a general inſurrection in the colony, he was loaded with chains, and ſhut up in the common jail [o].

The malcontents chuſe Gonzalo Pizarro to be their leader.

BUT however general the indignation was againſt ſuch proceedings, it is probable the hand of authority would have been ſtrong enough to ſuppreſs it, or to prevent its burſting out with open violence, if the malcontents had not been provided with a leader of credit and eminence to unite and to direct their efforts. From the time that the purport of the new regulations was known in Peru, every Spaniard there turned his eyes towards Gonzalo Pizarro, as the only perſon able to avert the ruin with which they threatened the colony. From all quarters, letters and addreſſes were ſent to him, conjuring him to ſtand forth as their common protector, and offering to ſupport him in the attempt

[o] Zarate, lib. iv. c. 23, 24, 25. Gomara, c. 153—155. Vega, p. II. lib. iv. c. 4, 5. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 6—10.

with

BOOK VI. 1543. with their lives and fortunes. Gonzalo, though inferior in talents to his other brothers, was equally ambitious, and of courage no lefs daring. The behaviour of an ungrateful court towards his brothers and himfelf, dwelt continually on his mind, Ferdinand a ftate prifoner in Europe, the children of the governor in cuftody of the viceroy, and fent aboard his fleet, himfelf reduced to the condition of a private citizen in a country, for the difcovery and conqueft of which Spain was indebted to his family. Thefe thoughts prompted him to feek for vengeance, and to affert the rights of his family, of which he now confidered himfelf as the guardian and the heir. But as no Spaniard can eafily furmount that veneration for his fovereign which is interwoven in his frame, the idea of marching in arms againft the royal ftandard filled him with horror. He hefitated long, and was ftill unrefolved, when the violence of the viceroy, the univerfal call of his countrymen, and the certainty of becoming foon a victim himfelf to the feverity of the new laws, moved him to quit his refidence at Chuquifaca de la Plata, and repair to Cuzco. All the inhabitants went out to meet him, and received him with tranfports of joy as the deliverer of the colony. In the fervour of their zeal, they elected him procurator-general of the Spanifh nation in Peru, to folicit the repeal of the late regulations. They empowered him to lay their remonftrances before the royal audience in Lima, and upon pretext of danger from the Indians,

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authorised him to march thither in arms. Under sanction of this nomination Pizarro took possession of the royal treasure, appointed officers, levied soldiers, seized a large train of artillery which Vaca de Castro had deposited in Guamanga, and set out for Lima, as if he had been advancing against a public enemy. Disaffection having now assumed a regular form, and being united under a chief of such distinguished name, many persons of note resorted to his standard; and a considerable part of the troops, raised by the viceroy to oppose his progress, deserted to him in a body [o].

Dissentions of the viceroy and court of audience.

Before Pizarro reached Lima, a revolution had happened there, which encouraged him to proceed with almost certainty of success. The violence of the viceroy's administration was not more formidable to the Spaniards of Peru than his overbearing haughtiness was odious to his associates, the judges of the royal audience. During their voyage from Spain, some symptoms of coldness began to appear [p]. But as soon as they entered upon the exercise of their respective offices, both parties were so much exasperated by frequent contests, arising from interference of jurisdiction, and contrariety of opinion, that their mutual disgust soon

[o] Zarate, lib. v. c. 1. Gomara, c. 156, 157. Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 4—12. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 12—17. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. vii. c. 18, &c. lib. viii. c. 1—5.

[p] Gomara, c. 171.

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grew into open enmity. The judges thwarted the viceroy in every meaſure, ſet at liberty priſoners whom he had confined, juſtified the malcontents, and applauded their remonſtrances. At a time when both departments of government ſhould have united againſt the approaching enemy, they were contending with each other for ſuperiority. The judges at length prevailed. The viceroy, univerſally odious, and abandoned even by his own guards, was ſeized in his palace, and carried to a deſert iſland on the coaſt, to be kept there until he could be ſent home to Spain.

The viceroy impriſoned. Sept. 18.

Views of Pizarro.

THE judges, in conſequence of this, having aſſumed the ſupreme direction of affairs into their own hands, iſſued a proclamation ſuſpending the execution of the obnoxious laws, and ſent a meſſage to Pizarro, requiring him, as they had already granted whatever he could requeſt, to diſmiſs his troops, and to repair to Lima with fifteen or twenty attendants. They could hardly expect that a man ſo daring and ambitious would tamely comply with this requiſition. It was made, probably, with no ſuch intention, but only to throw a decent veil over their own conduct; for Cepeda, the preſident of the court of audience, a pragmatical and aſpiring lawyer, ſeems to have held a ſecret correſpondence with Pizarro, and had already formed the plan, which he afterwards executed, of devoting himſelf to his ſervice. The impriſon-

1544.

ment of the viceroy, the uſurpation of the judges, together with the univerſal confuſion and anarchy conſequent upon events ſo ſingular and unexpected, opened new and vaſt proſpects to Pizarro. He now beheld the ſupreme power within his reach. Nor did he want courage to puſh on towards the object which fortune preſented to his view. Carvajal, the prompter of his reſolutions, and guide of all his actions, had long fixed his eye upon it as the only end at which Pizarro ought to aim. Inſtead of the inferior function of procurator for the Spaniſh ſettlements in Peru, he openly demanded to be governor and captain-general of the whole province, and required the court of audience to grant him a commiſſion to that effect. At the head of twelve hundred men, within a mile of Lima, where there was neither leader nor army to oppoſe him, ſuch a requeſt carried with it the authority of a command. But the judges, either from unwillingneſs to relinquiſh power, or from a deſire of preſerving ſome attention to appearances, heſitated, or ſeemed to heſitate, about complying. Carvajal, impatient of delay, and impetuous in all his operations, marched into the city by night, ſeized ſeveral officers of diſtinction obnoxious to Pizarro, and hanged them without the formality of a trial. Next morning the court of audience iſſued a commiſſion in the emperor's name, appointing Pizarro governor of Peru, with full powers, civil as well as military, and he entered

He aſſumes the government.

BOOK VI. 1544.

the town that day with extraordinary pomp, to take poſſeſſion of his new dignity [q].

Oct. 28. The viceroy recovers his liberty.

But amidſt the diſorder and turbulence which accompanied this total diſſolution of the frame of government, the minds of men, ſet looſe from the ordinary reſtraints of law and authority, acted with ſuch capricious irregularity, that events no leſs extraordinary than unexpected followed in a rapid ſucceſſion. Pizarro had ſcarcely begun to exerciſe the new powers with which he was inveſted, when he beheld formidable enemies riſe up to oppoſe him. The viceroy having been put on board a veſſel by the judges of the audience, in order that he might be carried to Spain under cuſtody of Juan Alvarez, one of their own number; as ſoon as they were out at ſea, Alvarez, either touched with remorſe or moved by fear, fell at the feet of his priſoner, declaring him from that moment to be free, and that he himſelf, and every perſon in the ſhip, would obey him as the legal repreſentative of their ſovereign. Nugnez Vela ordered the pilot of the veſſel to ſhape his courſe towards Tumbez, and as ſoon as he landed there, erected the royal ſtandard, and reſumed his functions of viceroy. Several perſons of note, to whom the contagion of the ſeditious ſpirit which reigned at Cuzco and Lima had not reached, inſtantly

[q] Zarate, lib. v. c. 8—10. Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 13—19. Gomara, c. 159—163. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 18—25. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. viii. c. 10—20.

avowed

avowed their resolution to support his authority [r]. The violence of Pizarro's government, who observed every individual with the jealousy natural to usurpers, and who punished every appearance of disaffection with rigour, soon augmented the number of the viceroy's adherents, as it forced some leading men in the colony to fly to him for refuge. While he was gathering such strength at Tumbez, that his forces began to assume the appearance of what was considered as an army in America, Diego Centeno, a bold and active officer, exasperated by the cruelty and oppression of Pizarro's lieutenant governor in the province of Charcas, formed a conspiracy against his life, cut him off, and declared for the viceroy [s]. BOOK VI. 1544.

1545. Pizarro marches against him,

Pizarro, though alarmed with those appearances of hostility in the opposite extremes of the empire, was not disconcerted. He prepared to assert the authority to which he had attained, with the spirit and conduct of an officer accustomed to command, and marched directly against the viceroy as the enemy who was nearest as well as most formidable. As he was master of the public revenues in Peru, and most of the military men were attached to his family, his troops were so numerous, that the viceroy, unable to face them, re-

[r] Zarate, lib. v. c. 9. Gomara, c. 165. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 23. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. viii. c. 15.

[s] Zarate, lib. v. c. 18. Gomara, c. 169. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. ix. c. 27.

BOOK VI. 1545.

treated towards Quito. Pizarro followed him; and in that long march, through a wild mountainous country, ſuffered hardſhips and encountered difficulties, which no troops but thoſe accuſtomed to ſerve in America could have endured or ſurmounted [u]. The viceroy had ſcarcely reached Quito, when the van-guard of Pizarro's forces appeared, led by Carvajal, who, though near fourſcore, was as hardy and active as any young ſoldier under his command. Nugnez Vela inſtantly abandoned a town incapable of defence, and with a rapidity more reſembling a flight than a retreat, marched into the province of Popayan. Pizarro continued to purſue; but finding it impoſſible to overtake him, returned to Quito. From thence he diſpatched Carvajal to oppoſe Centeno, who was growing formidable in the ſouthern provinces of the empire, and he himſelf remained there to make head againſt the viceroy [x].

The viceroy defeated,

By his own activity, and the aſſiſtance of Benalcazar, Nugnez Vela ſoon aſſembled four hundred men in Popayan. As he retained, amidſt all his diſaſters, the ſame elevation of mind, and the ſame high ſenſe of his own dignity, he rejected with diſdain the advice of ſome of his followers, who urged him to make overtures of accommodation

[u] See NOTE XVI.

[x] Zarate, lib. v. c. 15, 16—24. Gomara, c. 167. Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 25—28. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 34. 40. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. viii. c. 16. 20—27.

to

to Pizarro, declaring that it was only by the ſword that a conteſt with rebels could be decided. With this intention he marched back to Quito. Pizarro, relying on the ſuperior number, and ſtill more on the diſcipline and valour of his troops, advanced reſolutely to meet him. The battle was fierce and bloody, both parties fighting like men who knew that the poſſeſſion of a great empire, the fate of their leaders, and their own future fortune, depended upon the iſſue of that day. But Pizarro's veterans puſhed forward with ſuch regular and well-directed force, that they ſoon began to make impreſſion on their enemies. The viceroy, by extraordinary exertions, in which the abilities of a commander and the courage of a ſoldier were equally diſplayed, held victory for ſome time in ſuſpenſe. At length he fell, pierced with many wounds; and the route of his followers became general. They were hotly purſued. His head was cut off, and placed on the public gibbet in Quito, which Pizarro entered in triumph. The troops aſſembled by Centeno were diſperſed ſoon after by Carvajal, and he himſelf compelled to fly to the mountains, where he remained for ſeveral months concealed in a cave. Every perſon in Peru, from the frontiers of Popayan to thoſe of Chili, ſubmitted to Pizarro; and by his fleet, under Pedro de Hinojoſa, he had not only the unrivalled command of the South-Sea, but had taken poſſeſſion of Panama, and placed a garriſon in Nombre de Dios, on the oppoſite ſide of the

BOOK VI. 1546. January 18. and ſlain.

 isthmus,

BOOK VI. 1546.

isthmus, which rendered him master of the usual avenue of communication between Spain and Peru [y].

Pizarro advised to assume the sovereignty of Peru.

After this decisive victory, Pizarro and his followers remained for some time at Quito, and during the first transports of their exultation, they ran into every excess of licentious indulgence, with the riotous spirit usual among low adventurers upon extraordinary success. But, amidst this dissipation, their chief and his confidents were obliged to turn their thoughts sometimes to what was serious, and deliberated with much solicitude concerning the part that he ought now to take. Carvajal, no less bold and decisive in counsel than in the field, had from the beginning warned Pizarro, that in the career on which he was entering, it was vain to think of holding a middle course; that he must either boldly aim at all, or attempt nothing. From the time that Pizarro obtained possession of the government of Peru, he inculcated the same maxim with greater earnestness. Upon receiving an account of the victory at Quito, he remonstrated with him in a tone still more peremptory. "You have usurped (said he, in a letter written to Pizarro on that occasion) the supreme power in this country, in contempt of the emperor's commission to

[y] Zarate, lib. v. c. 31, 32. Gomara, c. 170. Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 33, 34. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 51—54. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. x. c. 12. 19—22. dec. 8. lib. i. c. 1—3. Benzo, lib. iii. c. 12.

the viceroy. You have marched, in hoſtile array, againſt the royal ſtandard; you have attacked the repreſentative of your ſovereign in the field, have defeated him, and cut off his head. Think not that ever a monarch will forgive ſuch inſults on his dignity, or that any reconciliation with him can be cordial or ſincere. Depend no longer on the precarious favour of another. Aſſume yourſelf the ſovereignty over a country, to the dominion of which your family has a title founded on the rights both of diſcovery and conqueſt. It is in your power to attach every Spaniard in Peru of any conſequence inviolably to your intereſt by liberal grants of lands and of Indians, or by inſtituting ranks of nobility, and creating titles of honour ſimilar to thoſe which are courted with ſo much eagerneſs in Europe. By eſtabliſhing orders of knighthood, with privileges and diſtinctions reſembling thoſe in Spain, you may beſtow a gratification upon the officers in your ſervice, ſuited to the ideas of military men. Nor is it to your countrymen only that you ought to attend; endeavour to gain the natives. By marrying the Coya, or daughter of the Sun next in ſucceſſion to the crown, you will induce the Indians, out of veneration for the blood of their ancient princes, to unite with the Spaniards in ſupport of your authority. Thus, at the head of the ancient inhabitants of Peru, as well as of the new ſettlers there, you may ſet at defiance the power of Spain, and repel with eaſe any feeble force which it can ſend at ſuch a diſtance."

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tance." Cepeda, the lawyer, who was now Pizarro's confidential counſellor, warmly ſeconded Carvajal's exhortations, and employed whatever learning he poſſeſſed in demonſtrating, that all the founders of great monarchies had been raiſed to pre-eminence, not by the antiquity of their lineage, or the validity of their rights, but by their own aſpiring valour and perſonal merit [z].

But chuſes to negociate with the court of Spain.

PIZARRO liſtened attentively to both, and could not conceal the ſatisfaction with which he contemplated the object that they preſented to his view. But happily for the tranquillity of the world, few men poſſeſs that ſuperior ſtrength of mind, and extent of abilities, which are capable of forming and executing ſuch daring ſchemes, as cannot be accompliſhed without overturning the eſtabliſhed order of ſociety, and violating thoſe maxims of duty which men are accuſtomed to hold ſacred. The mediocrity of Pizarro's talents circumſcribed his ambition within more narrow limits. Inſtead of aſpiring at independent power, he confined his views to the obtaining from the court of Spain a confirmation of the authority which he now poſſeſſed; and for that purpoſe, he ſent an officer of diſtinction thither, to give ſuch a repreſentation of his conduct, and of the ſtate of the country, as might induce the emperor and his miniſters, either

[z] Vega, p. II. lib. iv. c. 40. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 34. lib. ii. c. 1. 49. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. ii. c. 10.

from

from inclination or from neceſſity, to continue him in his preſent ſtation.

1546.

Conſultations of the Spaniſh miniſters

WHILE Pizarro was deliberating with reſpect to the part which he ſhould take, conſultations were held in Spain, with no leſs ſolicitude, concerning the meaſures which ought to be purſued in order to re-eſtabliſh the emperor's authority in Peru. Though unacquainted with the laſt exceſſes of outrage to which the malcontents had proceeded there, the court had received an account of the inſurrection againſt the viceroy, of his impriſonment, and the uſurpation of the government by Pizarro. A revolution ſo alarming called for an immediate interpoſition of the emperor's abilities and authority. But as he was fully occupied at that time in Germany, in conducting the war againſt the famous league of Smalkalde, one of the moſt intereſting and arduous enterpriſes in his reign, the care of providing a remedy for the diſorders in Peru devolved upon his ſon Philip, and the counſellors whom Charles had appointed to aſſiſt him in the government of Spain during his abſence. At firſt view, the actions of Pizarro and his adherents appeared ſo repugnant to the duty of ſubjects towards their ſovereign, that the greater part of the miniſters inſiſted on declaring them inſtantly to be guilty of rebellion, and on proceeding to puniſh them with exemplary rigour. But when the fervour of their zeal and indignation began to abate, innumerable obſtacles to the execution of this meaſure preſented

themſelves.

BOOK VI. 1546.

themſelves. The veteran bands of infantry, the ſtrength and glory of the Spaniſh armies, were then employed in Germany. Spain, exhauſted of men and money by a long ſeries of wars, in which ſhe had been involved by the reſtleſs ambition of two ſucceſſive monarchs, could not eaſily equip an armament of ſufficient force to reduce Pizarro. To tranſport any reſpectable body of troops to a country ſo remote as Peru, appeared almoſt impoſſible. While Pizarro continued maſter of the South-Sea, the direct route by Nombre de Dios and Panama was impracticable. An attempt to march to Quito by land through the new kingdom of Granada, and the province of Popayan, acroſs regions of vaſt extent, deſolate, unhealthy, or inhabited by fierce and hoſtile tribes, would be attended with unſurmountable danger and hardſhips. The paſſage to the South-Sea by the Straits of Magellan was ſo tedious, ſo uncertain, and ſo little known in that age, that no confidence could be placed in any effort carried on in a courſe of navigation ſo remote and precarious. Nothing then remained but to relinquiſh the ſyſtem which the ardour of their loyalty had firſt ſuggeſted, and to attempt by lenient meaſures what could not be effected by force. It was manifeſt, from Pizarro's ſolicitude to repreſent his conduct in a favourable light to the emperor, that, notwithſtanding the exceſſes of which he had been guilty, he ſtill retained ſentiments of veneration for his ſovereign. By a proper application to theſe, together with

ſome

ſome ſuch conceſſions as ſhould diſcover a ſpirit of moderation and forbearance in government, he might be yet reclaimed, or the ideas of loyalty natural to Spaniards might ſo far revive among his followers, that they would no longer lend their aid to uphold his uſurped authority.

Gaſca appointed to repair to Peru as preſident.

THE ſucceſs, however, of this negociation, no leſs delicate than it was important, depended entirely on the abilities and addreſs of the perſon to whom it ſhould be committed. After weighing with much attention the comparative merit of various perſons, the Spaniſh miniſters fixed with unanimity of choice upon Pedro de la Gaſca, a prieſt in no higher ſtation than that of counſellor to the Inquiſition. Though in no public office, he had been occaſionally employed by government in affairs of truſt and conſequence, and had conducted them with no leſs ſkill than ſucceſs; diſplaying a gentle and inſinuating temper, accompanied with much firmneſs; probity, ſuperior to any feeling of private intereſt; and a cautious circumſpection in concerting meaſures, followed by ſuch vigour in executing them, as is rarely found in alliance with the other. Theſe qualities marked him out for the function to which he was deſtined. The emperor, to whom Gaſca was not unknown, warmly approved of the choice, and communicated it to him in a letter, containing expreſſions of good-will and confidence, no leſs honourable to the prince who wrote, than to the ſubject who received it. Gaſca,

notwith-

BOOK VI. 1546.

notwithſtanding his advanced age and feeble conſtitution, and though, from the apprehenſions natural to a man, who, during the courſe of his life, had never been out of his own country, he dreaded the effects of a long voyage, and of an unhealthy climate[a], did not heſitate a moment about complying with the will of his ſovereign. But as a proof that it was from this principle alone he acted, he refuſed a biſhopric which was offered to him, in order that he might appear in Peru with a more dignified character; he would accept of no higher title than that of preſident of the court of audience in Lima; and declared that he would receive no ſalary on account of his diſcharging the duties of that office. All he required was, that the expence of ſupporting his family ſhould be defrayed by the public, and as he was to go like a miniſter of peace with his gown and breviary, and without any retinue but a few domeſtics, this would not load the revenue with any enormous burden[b].

His moderation.

The powers committed to him.

But while he diſcovered ſuch diſintereſted moderation with reſpect to whatever related perſonally to himſelf, he demanded his official powers in a very different tone. He inſiſted, as he was to be employed in a country ſo remote from the ſeat of government, where he could not have recourſe to

[a] Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 17.

[b] Zarate, lib. vi. c. 6. Gomara, c. 174. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 14—16. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 1. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. i. c. 4, &c.

his

1546.

his ſovereign for new inſtructions on every emergence; and as the whole ſucceſs of his negociations muſt depend upon the confidence which the people with whom he had to treat could place in the extent of his powers, that he ought to be inveſted with unlimited authority; that his juriſdiction muſt reach to all perſons and to all cauſes; that he muſt be empowered to pardon, to puniſh, or to reward, as circumſtances and the behaviour of different men might require; that, in caſe of reſiſtance from the malcontents, he might be authoriſed to reduce them to obedience by force of arms, to levy troops for that purpoſe, and to call for aſſiſtance from the governors of all the Spaniſh ſettlements in America. Theſe powers, though manifeſtly conducive to the great objects of his miſſion, appeared to the Spaniſh miniſters to be inalienable prerogatives of royalty, which ought not to be delegated to a ſubject, and they refuſed to grant them. But the emperor's views were more enlarged. As from the nature of his employment, Gaſca muſt be entruſted with diſcretionary power in ſeveral points, and all his efforts might prove ineffectual if he was circumſcribed in any one particular, Charles ſcrupled not to inveſt him with authority to the full extent that he demanded. Highly ſatisfied with this freſh proof of his maſter's confidence, Gaſca haſtened his departure, and, without either money or troops, ſet out to quell a formidable rebellion[c]. May 26.

[c] Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 16—18.

On

BOOK VI.

1546. July 27. His arrival at Panama.

On his arrival at Nombre de Dios, he found Hernan Mexia, an officer of note, poſted there, by order of Pizarro, with a conſiderable body of men, to oppoſe the landing of any hoſtile forces. But Gaſca appeared in ſuch pacific guiſe, with a train ſo little formidable, and with a title of no ſuch dignity as to excite terror, that he was received with much reſpect. From Nombre de Dios he advanced to Panama, and met with a ſimilar reception from Hinojoſa, whom Pizarro had entruſted with the government of that town, and the command of his fleet ſtationed there. In both places he held the ſame language, declaring that he was ſent by their ſovereign as a meſſenger of peace, not as a miniſter of vengeance; that he came to redreſs all their grievances, to revoke the laws which had excited alarm, to pardon paſt offences, and to re-eſtabliſh order and juſtice in the government of Peru. His mild deportment, the ſimplicity of his manners, the ſanctity of his profeſſion, and a winning appearance of candour, gained credit to his declarations. The veneration due to a perſon clothed with legal authority, and acting in virtue of a royal commiſſion, began to revive among men accuſtomed for ſome time to nothing more reſpectable than an uſurped juriſdiction. Hinojoſa, Mexia, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction, to each of whom Gaſca applied ſeparately, were gained over to his intereſt, and waited only for ſome decent occaſion of declaring openly in his favour [d].

[d] Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 21, &c. Zarate, lib. vi. c. 6, 7. Gomara, c. 175. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 3.

THIS

BOOK VI.

1546.

Violent proceedings of Pizarro.

THIS the violence of Pizarro ſoon afforded them. As ſoon as he heard of Gaſca's arrival at Panama, though he received, at the ſame time, an account of the nature of his commiſſion, and was informed of his offers to render every Spaniard in Peru eaſy concerning what was paſt, by an act of general oblivion; and ſecure, with reſpect to the future, by repealing the obnoxious laws; inſtead of accepting with gratitude his ſovereign's gracious conceſſions, he was ſo much exaſperated on finding that he was not to be continued in his ſtation as governor of the country, that he inſtantly reſolved to oppoſe the preſident's entry into Peru, and to prevent his exerciſing any juriſdiction there. To this deſperate reſolution he added another highly prepoſterous. He ſent a new deputation to Spain to juſtify this conduct, and to inſiſt, in name of all the communities in Peru, for a confirmation of the government to himſelf during life, as the only means of preſerving tranquillity there. The perſons entruſted with this ſtrange commiſſion, intimated the intention of Pizarro to the preſident, and required him, in his name, to depart from Panama and return to Spain. They carried likewiſe ſecret inſtructions to Hinojoſa, directing him to offer Gaſca a preſent of fifty thouſand peſos, if he would comply voluntarily with what was demanded of him; and if he ſhould continue obſtinate, to cut him off either by aſſaſſination or poiſon [e].

[e] Zarate, lib. vi. c. 8. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 33, 34. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. ii. c. 9, 10.

BOOK VI.

1546. Gasca gains his fleet.

MANY circumſtances concurred in puſhing on Pizarro to thoſe wild meaſures. Having been once accuſtomed to ſupreme command, he could not bear the thoughts of deſcending to a private ſtation. Conſcious of his own demerit, he ſuſpected that the emperor ſtudied only to deçeive him, and would never pardon the outrages which he had committed. His chief confidents, no leſs guilty, entertained the ſame apprehenſions. The approach of Gaſca without any military force excited no terror. There were now above ſix thouſand Spaniards ſettled in Peru [f]; and at the head of theſe he doubted not to maintain his own independence, if the court of Spain ſhould refuſe to grant what he required. But he knew not that a ſpirit of defection had already begun to ſpread among thoſe whom he truſted moſt. Hinojoſa, amazed at Pizarro's precipitate reſolution of ſetting himſelf in oppoſition to the emperor's commiſſion, and diſdaining to be his inſtrument in perpetrating the odious crimes pointed out in his ſecret inſtructions, publicly recognized the title of the preſident to the ſupreme authority in Peru. The officers under his command did the ſame. Such was the contagious influence of the example, that it reached even the deputies who had been ſent from Peru; and at the time when Pizarro expected to hear either of Gaſca's return to Spain, or of his death, he received an account of his being maſter of the fleet, of Panama, and of the troops ſtationed there.

[f] Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iii. c. 1.

BOOK VI.

1547.

Pizarro resolves on war.

IRRITATED almost to madness by an event so unexpected, he openly prepared for war; and in order to give some colour of justice to his arms, he appointed the court of audience in Lima to proceed to the trial of Gasca, for the crimes of having seized his ships, seduced his officers, and prevented his deputies from proceeding in their voyage to Spain. Cepeda, though acting as a judge in virtue of the royal commission, did not scruple to prostitute the dignity of his function by finding Gasca guilty of treason, and condemning him to death on that account[g]. Wild, and even ridiculous, as this proceeding was, it imposed on the low illiterate adventurers, with whom Peru was filled, by the semblance of a legal sanction warranting Pizarro to carry on hostilities against a convicted traitor. Soldiers accordingly resorted from every quarter to his standard, and he was soon at the head of a thousand men, the best equipped that had ever taken the field in Peru.

Preparations of Gasca.

GASCA, on his part, perceiving that force must be employed in order to accomplish the purpose of his mission, was no less assiduous in collecting troops from Nicaragua, Carthagena, and other settlements on the continent; and with such success, that he was soon in a condition to detach a squadron of his fleet, with a considerable body of

g Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 55. Vega, p. ii. lib. v. c. 7. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iii. c. 6.

soldiers,

BOOK VI. 1547. April.

soldiers, to the coast of Peru. Their appearance excited a dreadful alarm; and though they did not attempt for some time to make any descent, they did more effectual service, by setting ashore in different places persons who dispersed copies of the act of general indemnity, and the revocation of the late edicts; and who made known every where the pacific intentions, as well as mild temper, of the president. The effect of spreading this information was wonderful. All who were dissatisfied with Pizarro's violent administration, all who retained any sentiments of fidelity to their sovereign, began to meditate revolt. Some openly deserted a cause which they now deemed to be unjust. Centeno, leaving the cave in which he lay concealed, assembled about fifty of his former adherents, and with this feeble half-armed band advanced boldly to Cuzco. By a sudden attack in the night-time, in which he displayed no less military skill than valour, he rendered himself master of that capital, though defended by a garrison of five hundred men. Most of these having ranged themselves under his banners, he had soon the command of a respectable body of troops [h].

Insurrection of Centeno,

against whom Pizarro marches,

PIZARRO, though astonished at beholding one enemy approaching by sea, and another by land, at a time when he trusted to the union of all Peru in his favour, was of a spirit more undaunted, and

[h] Zarate, lib. vi. c. 13—16. Gomara, c. 180, 181. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 28. 64, &c.

more

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more accuſtomed to the viciſſitudes of fortune, than to be diſconcerted or appalled. As the danger from Centeno's operations was the moſt urgent, he inſtantly ſet out to oppoſe him. Having provided horſes for all his ſoldiers, he marched with amazing rapidity. But every morning he found his force diminiſhed, by numbers who had left him during the night; and though he became ſuſpicious to exceſs, and puniſhed without mercy all whom he ſuſpected, the rage of deſertion was too violent to be checked. Before he got within ſight of the enemy at Huarina, near the lake Titiaca, he could not muſter more than four hundred ſoldiers. But theſe he juſtly conſidered as men of tried attachment, on whom he might depend. They were indeed the boldeſt and moſt deſperate of his followers, conſcious like himſelf of crimes for which they could hardly expect forgiveneſs, and without any hope but in the ſucceſs of their arms. With theſe he did not heſitate to attack Centeno's troops, though double to his own in number. The royaliſts did not decline the combat. It was the moſt obſtinate and bloody that had hitherto been fought in Peru. At length the intrepid valour of Pizarro, and the ſuperiority of Carvajal's military talents, triumphed over numbers, and obtained a complete victory. The booty was immenſe [1], and the treatment of the vanquiſhed cruel. By this ſingle ſucceſs the reputation of

October 20, and defeats him.

[1] See NOTE XVII.

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Pizarro was re-eſtabliſhed, and being now deemed invincible in the field, his army increaſed daily in number[k].

Gaſca lands at Peru.

But events happened in other parts of Peru, which more than counterbalanced the ſplendid victory at Huarina. Pizarro had ſcarcely left Lima, when the citizens, weary of his oppreſſive dominion, erected the royal ſtandard, and Aldana, with a detachment of ſoldiers from the fleet, took poſſeſſion of the town. About the ſame time[l], the preſident landed at Tumbez with five hundred men. Encouraged by his preſence, every ſettlement in the low country declared for the king. The ſituation of the two parties was now perfectly reverſed; Cuzco and the adjacent provinces were poſſeſſed by Pizarro; all the reſt of the empire, from Quito ſouthward, acknowledged the juriſdiction of Gaſca. As his numbers augmented faſt, Gaſca advanced into the interior part of the country. His behaviour ſtill continued to be gentle and unaſſuming; he expreſſed, on every occaſion, his ardent wiſh of terminating the conteſt without bloodſhed. More ſolicitous to reclaim than to puniſh, he upbraided no man for paſt offences, but received them as a father receives penitent children returning to a ſenſe of their duty. Though deſirous

[k] Zarate, lib. vii. c. 2, 3. Gomara, c. 181. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 18, &c. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 79. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iv. c. 1, 2.

[l] Zarate, lib. vi. c. 17.

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of peace, he did not ſlacken his preparations for war. He appointed the general rendezvous of his troops in the fertile valley of Xauxa, on the road to Cuzco [m]. There he remained for ſome months, not only that he might have time to make another attempt towards an accommodation with Pizarro, but that he might train his new ſoldiers to the uſe of arms, and accuſtom them to the diſcipline of a camp, before he led them againſt a body of victorious veterans. Pizarro, intoxicated with the ſucceſs which had hitherto accompanied his arms, and elated with having again near a thouſand men under his command, refuſed to liſten to any terms, although Cepeda, together with ſeveral of his officers, and even Carvajal himſelf [n], gave it as their advice to cloſe with the preſident's offer of a general indemnity, and the revocation of the obnoxious laws [o]. Gaſca having tried in vain every expedient to avoid imbruing his hands in the blood of his countrymen, began to move towards Cuzco, at the head of ſixteen hundred men.

Advances towards Cuzco.

Dec. 29.

Pizarro, confident of victory, ſuffered the royaliſts to paſs all the rivers which lie between Guamanga and Cuzco without oppoſition, and to advance within four leagues of that capital, flattering himſelf that a defeat in ſuch a ſituation as

Both parties prepare for battle.

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[m] Zarate, lib. vii. c. 9. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 77. 82.

[n] See NOTE XVIII.

[o] Zarate, lib. vii. c. 6. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 27.

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rendered a retreat impracticable would at once terminate the war. He then marched out to meet the enemy, and Carvajal chose his ground, and made the disposition of the troops with the discerning eye, and profound knowledge in the art of war, conspicuous in all his operations. As the two armies moved forward slowly to the charge, the appearance of each was singular. In that of Pizarro, composed of men enriched with the spoils of the most opulent country in America, every officer, and almost all the private men were clothed in stuffs of silk, or brocade, embroidered with gold and silver; and their horses, their arms, their standards, were adorned with all the pride of military pomp[p]. That of Gasca, though not so splendid, exhibited what was no less striking. He himself, accompanied by the archbishop of Lima, the bishops of Quito and Cuzco, and a great number of ecclesiastics, marching along the lines, blessing the men, and encouraging them to a resolute discharge of their duty.

Pizarro deserted by his troops.

When both were just ready to engage, Cepeda set spurs to his horse, galloped off, and surrendered himself to the president. Garcilasso de la Vega, and other officers of note, followed his example. The revolt of persons in such high rank struck all with amazement. The mutual confidence on which the union and strength of armies depend,

[p] Zarate, lib. vi. c. 11.

ceased

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ceaſed at once. Diſtruſt and conſternation ſpread from rank to rank. Some ſilently ſlipped away, others threw down their arms, the greateſt number went over to the royaliſts. Pizarro, Carvajal, and ſome leaders, employed authority, threats, and entreaties, to ſtop them, but in vain. In leſs than half an hour, a body of men, which might have decided the fate of the Peruvian empire, was totally diſperſed. Pizarro, ſeeing all irretrievably loſt, cried out in amazement to a few officers who ſtill faithfully adhered to him, "What remains for us to do?" "Let us ruſh, replied one of them, upon the enemy's firmeſt battalion, and die like Romans." Dejected with ſuch a reverſe of fortune, he had not ſpirit to follow this ſoldierly counſel, and with a tameneſs diſgraceful to his former fame, he ſurrendered to one of Gaſca's officers. Carvajal, endeavouring to eſcape, was overtaken and ſeized. taken,

Gasca, happy in this bloodleſs victory, did not ſtain it with cruelty. Pizarro, Carvajal, and a ſmall number of the moſt diſtinguiſhed or notorious offenders, were puniſhed capitally. Pizarro was beheaded on the day after he ſurrendered. He ſubmitted to his fate with a compoſed dignity, and ſeemed deſirous to atone by repentance for the crimes which he had committed. The end of Carvajal was ſuitable to his life. On his trial he offered no defence. When the ſentence adjudging him to be hanged was pronounced, he careleſsly re- and put to death.

plied,

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plied, "One can die but once." During the interval between the ſentence and execution, he diſcovered no ſign either of remorſe for the paſt, or of ſolicitude about the future; ſcoffing at all who viſited him, in his uſual ſarcaſtic vein of mirth, with the ſame quickneſs of repartee and groſs pleaſantry as at any other period of his life. Cepeda, more criminal than either, ought to have ſhared the ſame fate; but the merit of having deſerted his aſſociates at ſuch a critical moment, and with ſuch deciſive effect, ſaved him from immediate puniſhment. He was ſent, however, as a priſoner to Spain, and died in confinement [q].

In the minute detail which the contemporary hiſtorians have given of the civil diſſentions that raged in Peru, with little interruption, during ten years, many circumſtances occur, ſo ſtriking, and which indicate ſuch an uncommon ſtate of manners, as to merit particular attention.

No mercenary ſoldiers in the civil wars of Peru.

Though the Spaniards who firſt invaded Peru were of the loweſt order in ſociety, and the greater part of thoſe who afterwards joined them were perſons of deſperate fortune, yet in all the bodies of troops brought into the field by the different leaders who contended for ſuperiority, not one man

[q] Zarate, lib. vii. c. 6, 7, 8. Gomara, c. 185, 186. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 30, &c. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 86, &c. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iv. c. 14, &c.

acted

acted as a hired ſoldier, that follows his ſtandard for pay. Every adventurer in Peru conſidered himſelf as a conqueror, entitled, by his ſervices, to an eſtabliſhment in that country which had been acquired by his valour. In the conteſts between the rival chiefs, each choſe his ſide as he was directed by his own judgment or affections. He joined his commander as a companion of his fortune, and diſdained to degrade himſelf by receiving the wages of a mercenary. It was to their ſword, not to pre-eminence in office, or nobility of birth, that moſt of the leaders whom they followed were indebted for their elevation; and each of their adherents hoped, by the ſame means, to open a way for himſelf to the poſſeſſion of power and wealth [r].

Armies immenſely expenſive;

But though the troops in Peru ſerved without any regular pay, they were raiſed at immenſe expence. Among men accuſtomed to divide the ſpoils of an opulent country, the deſire of obtaining wealth acquired incredible force. The ardour of purſuit augmented in proportion to the hope of ſucceſs. Where all were intent on the ſame object, and under the dominion of the ſame paſſion, there was but one mode of gaining men, or of ſecuring their attachment. Officers of name and influence, beſides the promiſe of future eſtabliſhments, received in hand large gratuities from the chief with

[r] Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 38. 41.

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whom they engaged. Gonzalo Pizarro, in order to raiſe a thouſand men, advanced five hundred thouſand peſos [s]. Gaſca expended in levying the troops which he led againſt Pizarro nine hundred thouſand peſos [t]. The diſtribution of property, beſtowed as the reward of ſervices, was ſtill more exorbitant. Cepeda, as the recompence of his perfidy and addreſs, in perſuading the court of royal audience to give the ſanction of its authority to the uſurped juriſdiction of Pizarro, received a grant of lands which yielded an annual income of a hundred and fifty thouſand peſos [u]. Hinojoſa, who, by his early defection from Pizarro, and ſurrender of the fleet to Gaſca, decided the fate of Peru, obtained a diſtrict of country affording two hundred thouſand peſos of yearly value [x]. While ſuch rewards were dealt out to the principal officers, with more than royal munificence, proportional ſhares were conferred upon thoſe of inferior rank.

and immenſe rewards to individuals.

Their profuſion and luxury.

SUCH a rapid change of fortune produced its natural effects. It gave birth to new wants, and new deſires. Veterans, long accuſtomed to hardſhip and toil, acquired of a ſudden a taſte for profuſe and inconſiderate diſſipation, and indulged in all the exceſſes of military licentiouſneſs. The

[s] Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 54.
[t] Zarate, lib. vii. c. 10. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. v. c. 7.
[u] Gomara, c. 164.
[x] Vega, p. 11. lib. vi. c. 3.

riot

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riot of low debauchery occupied ſome; a reliſh for expenſive luxuries ſpread among others [y]. The meaneſt ſoldier in Peru would have thought himſelf degraded by marching on foot; and at a time when the prices of horſes in that country were exorbitant, each inſiſted on being furniſhed with one before he would take the field. But though leſs patient under the fatigue and hardſhips of ſervice, they were ready to face danger and death with as much intrepidity as ever; and animated by the hope of new rewards, they never failed, on the day of battle, to diſplay all their ancient valour.

Ferocity with which their conteſts were carried on;

TOGETHER with their courage, they retained all the ferocity by which they were originally diſtinguiſhed. Civil diſcord never raged with a more fell ſpirit than among the Spaniards in Peru. To all the paſſions which uſually envenom conteſts among countrymen, avarice was added, and rendered their enmity more rancorous. Eagerneſs to ſeize the valuable forfeitures expected upon the death of every opponent, ſhut the door againſt mercy. To be wealthy, was of itſelf ſufficient to expoſe a man to accuſation, or to ſubject him to puniſhment. On the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions, Pizarro condemned many of the moſt opulent inhabitants in Peru to death. Carvajal, without ſearching for any pretext to juſtify his cruelty, cut off many

[y] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. ii. c. 3. dec. 8. lib. viii. c. 10.

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more. The number of thoſe who ſuffered by the hand of the executioner, was not much inferior to what fell in the field [z]; and the greater part was condemned without the formality of any legal trial.

and want of faith.

THE violence with which the contending parties treated their opponents was not accompanied with its uſual attendants, attachment and fidelity to thoſe with whom they acted. The ties of honour which are held ſacred among ſoldiers, and the principle of integrity, interwoven as thoroughly in the Spaniſh character as in that of any nation, ſeem to have been equally forgotten. Even regard for decency, and the ſenſe of ſhame, were totally loſt. During their diſſenſions, there was hardly a Spaniard in Peru who did not abandon the party which he had originally eſpouſed, betray the aſſociates with whom he had united, and violate the engagements under which he had come. The viceroy Nugnez Vela was ruined by the treachery of Cepeda and the other judges of the royal audience, who were bound by the duties of their function to have ſupported his authority. The chief adviſers and companions of Gonzalo Pizarro's revolt, were the firſt to forſake him, and ſubmit to his enemies. His fleet was given up to Gaſca, by the man whom he had ſingled out among his officers to entruſt with that important command. On the

z See NOTE XIX.

day

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day that was to decide his fate, an army of veterans, in ſight of the enemy, threw down their arms without ſtriking a blow, and deſerted a leader who had often conducted them to victory. Inſtances of ſuch general and avowed contempt of the principles and obligations which attach man to man, and bind them together in ſocial union, rarely occur in hiſtory. It is only where men are far removed from the ſeat of government, where the reſtraints of law and order are little felt, where the proſpect of gain is unbounded, and where immenſe wealth may cover the crimes by which it is acquired, that we can find any parallel to the levity, the rapaciouſneſs, the perfidy and corruption prevalent among the Spaniards in Peru.

Gaſca deviſes employment for his ſoldiers.

ON the death of Pizarro, the malcontents in every corner of Peru laid down their arms, and tranquillity ſeemed to be perfectly re-eſtabliſhed. But two very intereſting objects ſtill remained to occupy the preſident's attention. The one was to find immediately ſuch employment for a multitude of turbulent and daring adventurers with which the country was filled, as might prevent them from exciting new commotions. The other, to beſtow proper gratifications upon thoſe to whoſe loyalty and valour he was indebted for his ſucceſs. The former of theſe was in ſome meaſure accompliſhed, by appointing Pedro de Valdivia to proſecute the conqueſt of Chili; and by empowering Diego Centeno to undertake the diſcovery of the vaſt

BOOK VI. 1548.

vaſt regions bordering on the river De la Plata. The reputation of thoſe leaders, and the hopes of acquiring wealth, and riſing to conſequence in ſome unexplored country, alluring many of the moſt indigent and deſperate ſoldiers to follow their ſtandards, drained off no inconſiderable portion of that mutinous ſpirit which Gaſca dreaded.

His diviſion of the country among his followers.

THE latter was an affair of greater difficulty, and to be adjuſted with a more attentive and delicate hand. The *repartimientos*, or allotments of lands and Indians which fell to be diſtributed, in conſequence of the death or forfeiture of the former poſſeſſors, exceeded two millions of peſos of yearly rent [a]. Gaſca, when now abſolute maſter of this immenſe property, retained the ſame diſintereſted ſentiments which he had originally profeſſed, and refuſed to reſerve the ſmalleſt portion of it for himſelf. But the number of claimants was great; and whilſt the vanity or avarice of every individual fixed the value of his own ſervices, and eſtimated the recompence which he thought due to him, the pretenſions of each were ſo extravagant, that it was impoſſible to ſatisfy all. Gaſca liſtened to them one by one, with the moſt patient attention; and that he might have leiſure to weigh the comparative merit of their ſeveral claims with accuracy, he retired, with the archbiſhop of Lima and a ſingle ſecretary, to a village twelve leagues

[a] Vega, p. 11. lib. vi. c. 4.

from

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from Cuzco. There he ſpent ſeveral days in allotting to each a diſtrict of lands and number of Indians, in proportion to his idea of their paſt ſervices and future importance. But that he might get beyond the reach of the fierce ſtorm of clamour and rage, which he foreſaw would burſt out on the publication of his decree, notwithſtanding the impartial equity with which he had framed it, he ſet out for Lima, leaving the inſtrument of partition ſealed up, with orders not to open it for ſome days after his departure.

Aug. 24. The diſcontent it occaſions.

THE indignation excited by publiſhing the decree of partition was not leſs than Gaſca had expected. Vanity, avarice, emulation, envy, ſhame, rage, and all the other paſſions which moſt vehemently agitate the minds of men when both their honour and their intereſt are deeply affected, conſpired in adding to its violence. It broke out with all the fury of military inſolence. Calumny, threats, and curſes were poured out openly upon the preſident. He was accuſed of ingratitude, of partiality, and of injuſtice. Among ſoldiers prompt to action, ſuch ſeditious diſcourſe would have been ſoon followed by deeds no leſs violent, and they already began to turn their eyes towards ſome diſcontented leaders, expecting them to ſtand forth in redreſs of their wrongs. By ſome vigorous interpoſitions of government, a timely check was given to this mutinous ſpirit, and the danger of

BOOK VI. of another civil war was averted for the present[b].

1549. Re-establishes order and government. GASCA, however, perceiving that the flame was suppressed rather than extinguished, laboured with the utmost assiduity to soothe the malcontents, by bestowing large gratuities on some, by promising *repartimientos*, when they fell vacant, to others, and by caressing and flattering all. But that the public security might rest on a foundation more stable than their good affection, he endeavoured to strengthen the hands of his successors in office, by re-establishing the regular administration of justice in every part of the empire. He introduced order and simplicity into the mode of collecting the royal revenue. He issued regulations concerning the treatment of the Indians, well calculated to protect them from oppression, and to provide for their instruction in the principles of religion, without depriving the Spaniards of the benefit accruing from
1550. their labour. Having now accomplished every object of his mission, Gasca, longing to return again to a private station, committed the government of Peru to the court of audience, and set out
Feb. 1. and sets out for Spain. for Spain. As, during the anarchy and turbulence of the four last years, there had been no remittance made of the royal revenue, he carried with him

[b] Zarate, lib. vii. c. 9. Gomara, c. 187. Vega, p. 11. lib. vii. c. 1, &c. Fernandez, p. 11. lib. i. c. 1, &c. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iv. c. 17, &c.

thirteen

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thirteen hundred thouſand peſos of public money, which the œconomy and order of his adminiſtration enabled him to ſave, after paying all the expences of the war.

His reception there.

HE was received in his native country with univerſal admiration of his abilities, and of his virtue. Both were, indeed, highly conſpicuous. Without army, or fleet, or public funds; with a train ſo ſimple, that only three thouſand ducats were expended in equipping him[c], he ſet out to oppoſe a formidable rebellion. By his addreſs and talents he ſupplied all thoſe defects, and ſeemed to create inſtruments for executing his deſigns. He acquired ſuch a naval force, as gave him the command of the ſea. He raiſed a body of men able to cope with the veteran bands which gave law to Peru. He vanquiſhed their leader, on whoſe arms victory had hitherto attended, and in place of anarchy and uſurpation, he eſtabliſhed the government of laws, and the authority of the rightful ſovereign. But the praiſe beſtowed on his abilities was exceeded by that which his virtue merited. After reſiding in a country where wealth preſented allurements which had ſeduced every perſon who had hitherto poſſeſſed power there, he returned from that trying ſtation with integrity not only untainted but unſuſpected. After diſtributing among his countrymen poſſeſſions of greater ex-

[c] Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 18.

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tent and value than had ever been in the diſpoſal of a ſubject in any age or nation, he himſelf remained in his original ſtate of poverty; and at the very time, when he brought ſuch a large recruit to the royal treaſury, he was obliged to apply by petition for a ſmall ſum to diſcharge ſome petty debts which he had contracted during the courſe of his ſervice[d]. Charles was not inſenſible to ſuch diſintereſted merit. Gaſca was received by him with the moſt diſtinguiſhing marks of eſteem, and being promoted to the biſhopric of Palencia, he paſſed the remainder of his days in the tranquillity of retirement, reſpected by his country, honoured by his ſovereign, and beloved by all.

NOTWITHSTANDING all Gaſca's wiſe regulations, the tranquillity of Peru was not of long continuance. In a country, where the authority of government was almoſt forgotten during the long prevalence of anarchy and miſ-rule, where there were diſappointed leaders ripe for revolt, and ſeditious ſoldiers ready to follow them, it was not difficult to raiſe combuſtion. Several ſucceſſive inſurrections deſolated the country for ſome years. But as thoſe, though fierce, were only tranſient ſtorms, excited rather by the ambition and turbulence of particular men, than by general or public motives, the detail of them is not the object of this hiſtory. Theſe commotions in Peru, like every

[d] MS. penes me.

thing

thing of extreme violence either in the natural or political body, were not of long duration, and by carrying off the corrupted humours which had given riſe to the diſorders, they contributed in the end to ſtrengthen the ſociety which at firſt they threatened to deſtroy. During their fierce conteſts, ſeveral of the firſt invaders of Peru, and many of thoſe licentious adventurers whom the fame of their ſucceſs had allured thither, fell by each other's hands. Each of the parties, as they alternately prevailed in the ſtruggle, cleared the country of a greater number, by executing, proſcribing, or baniſhing their opponents. Men leſs enterpriſing, leſs deſperate, and more accuſtomed to move in the path of ſober and peaceable induſtry, ſettled in Peru; and the royal authority was gradually eſtabliſhed as firmly there as in the other Spaniſh colonies.

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As the conqueſt of the two great empires of Mexico and Peru forms the moſt ſplendid and intereſting period in the hiſtory of America, a view of their political inſtitutions, and a deſcription of their national manners, will exhibit the human ſpecies to the contemplation of intelligent obſervers in a very ſingular ſtage of its progreſs [a].

Mexico and Peru more poliſhed than other parts of America.

When compared with other parts of the New World, Mexico and Peru may be conſidered as poliſhed ſtates. Inſtead of ſmall, independent, hoſtile tribes, ſtruggling for ſubſiſtence amidſt woods and marſhes, ſtrangers to induſtry and arts, unacquainted with ſubordination, and almoſt without the appearance of regular government, we find

[a] See NOTE XX.

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countries of great extent ſubjected to the dominion of one ſovereign, the inhabitants collected together in cities, the wiſdom and foreſight of rulers employed in providing for the maintenance and ſecurity of the people, the empire of laws in ſome meaſure eſtabliſhed, the authority of religion recognized, many of the arts eſſential to life brought to ſome degree of maturity, and the dawn of ſuch as are ornamental beginning to appear.

Their inferiority to the nations of the ancient continent.

BUT if the compariſon be made with the people of the ancient continent, the inferiority of America in improvement will be conſpicuous, and neither the Mexicans nor Peruvians will be entitled to rank with thoſe nations which merit the name of civilized. The people of both the great empires in America, like the rude tribes around them, were totally unacquainted with the uſeful metals, and the progreſs which they had made in extending their dominion over the animal creation was inconſiderable. The Mexicans had gone no farther than to tame and rear turkeys, ducks, a ſpecies of ſmall dogs, and rabbits [b]. By this feeble eſſay of ingenuity, the means of ſubſiſtence were rendered ſomewhat more plentiful and ſecure, than when men depend ſolely on hunting; but they had no idea of attempting to ſubdue the more robuſt animals, or of deriving any aid from their miniſtry in

[b] Herrera, dec. II. lib. vii. c. 12.

carrying

carrying on works of labour. The Peruvians ſeem to have neglected the inferior animals, and had not rendered any of them domeſtic except the duck; but they were more fortunate in taming the Llama, an animal peculiar to their country, of a form which bears ſome reſemblance to a deer, and ſome to a camel, and of a ſize ſomewhat larger than a ſheep. Under the protection of man, this ſpecies multiplied greatly. Its wool furniſhed the Peruvians with clothing, its fleſh with food. It was even employed as a beaſt of burden, and carried a moderate load with much patience and docility [c]. It was never uſed for draught; and the breed being confined to the mountainous country, its ſervice, if we may judge by incidents which occur in the early Spaniſh writers, was not very extenſive among the Peruvians in their original ſtate.

In tracing the line by which nations proceed towards civilization, the diſcovery of the uſeful metals, and the acquiſition of dominion over the animal creation, have been marked as ſteps of capital importance in their progreſs. In our continent, long after men had attained both, ſociety continued in that ſtate which is denominated barbarous. Even with all that command over nature which theſe confer, many ages elapſe, before induſtry becomes ſo perfect as to render ſubſiſtence

[c] Vega, p. 1. lib. viii. c. 16. Zarate, lib. i. c. 14.

ſecure,

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ſecure, before the arts which ſupply the wants and furniſh the accommodations of life are invented, and before any idea is conceived of the various inſtitutions requiſite in a well-ordered ſociety. The Mexicans and Peruvians, without knowledge of the uſeful metals, or the aid of domeſtic animals, laboured under diſadvantages which muſt have greatly retarded their progreſs, and in their higheſt ſtate of improvement their power was ſo limited, and their operations ſo feeble, that they can hardly be conſidered as having advanced beyond the infancy of civil life.

View of the inſtitutions and manners of each.

AFTER this general obſervation concerning the moſt ſingular and diſtinguiſhing circumſtance in the ſtate of both the great empires in America, I ſhall endeavour to give ſuch a view of the conſtitution and interior police of each, as may enable us to aſcertain their place in the political ſcale, to allot them their proper ſtation between the rude tribes in the New World, and the poliſhed ſtates of the ancient, and to determine how far they had riſen above the former, as well as how much they fell below the latter.

Imperfect information concerning thoſe of Mexico.

MEXICO was firſt ſubjected to the Spaniſh crown. But our acquaintance with its laws and manners is not, from that circumſtance, more complete. What I have remarked concerning the defective and inaccurate information on which we muſt rely with reſpect to the condition and cuſtoms of the

ſavage

ſavage tribes in America, may be applied likewiſe to our knowledge of the Mexican empire. Cortes, and the rapacious adventurers who accompanied him, had not leiſure or capacity to enrich either civil or natural hiſtory with new obſervations. They undertook their expedition in queſt of one object, and ſeemed hardly to have turned their eyes towards any other. Or, if during ſome ſhort interval of tranquillity, when the occupations of war ceaſed, and the ardour of plunder was ſuſpended, the inſtitutions and manners of the people whom they had invaded drew their attention, the inquiries of illiterate ſoldiers were conducted with ſo little ſagacity and preciſion, that the accounts given by them of the policy and order eſtabliſhed in the Mexican monarchy are ſuperficial, confuſed, and inexplicable. It is rather from incidents which they relate occaſionally, than from their own deductions and remarks, that we are enabled to form ſome idea of the genius and manners of that people. The obſcurity in which the ignorance of its conquerors involved the annals of Mexico, was augmented by the ſuperſtition of thoſe who ſucceeded them. As the memory of paſt events was preſerved among the Mexicans by figures painted on ſkins, on cotton cloth, or on the bark of trees, the early miſſionaries, unable to comprehend their meaning, and ſtruck with their uncouth forms, conceived them to be monuments of idolatry which ought to be deſtroyed, in order to facilitate the converſion of the Indians. In obedience to an edict iſſued by

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by Juan de Zummaraga, a Franciſcan monk, the firſt biſhop of Mexico, thoſe records of the ancient Mexican ſtory which could be collected were committed to the flames. In conſequence of this fanatical zeal of the monks who firſt viſited New Spain, and which their ſucceſſors ſoon began to lament, whatever knowledge of remote events ſuch rude monuments contained was almoſt entirely loſt, and no information remained concerning the ancient revolutions and policy of the empire, but what was derived from tradition, or from ſome fragments of their hiſtorical paintings that eſcaped the barbarous reſearches of Zummaraga [d]. From the experience of all nations it is manifeſt, that the memory of paſt tranſactions can neither be long preſerved, nor be tranſmitted with any fidelity, by tradition. The Mexican paintings, which are ſuppoſed to have ſerved as annals of their empire, are few in number, and of ambiguous meaning. Thus, amidſt the uncertainty of the former, and the obſcurity of the latter, we muſt glean what intelligence can be collected from the ſcanty materials ſcattered in the Spaniſh writers.

Origin of the Mexican monarchy.

ACCORDING to the account of the Mexicans themſelves, their empire was not of long duration. Their country, as they relate, was originally poſſeſſed, rather than peopled, by ſmall independent

[d] Acoſta, lib. vi. c. 7. Torquem. Proem. lib. ii. lib. iii. c, 6. lib. xiv. c. 6.

tribes,

tribes, whose mode of life and manners resembled those of the rudest savages which we have described. But about a period corresponding to the beginning of the tenth century in the Christian æra, several tribes moved in successive migrations from unknown regions towards the north and north-west, and settled in different provinces of *Anabac*, the ancient name of New Spain. These, more civilized than the original inhabitants, began to form them to the arts of social life. At length, towards the commencement of the thirteenth century, the Mexicans, a people more polished than any of the former, advanced from the border of the Californian gulf, and took possession of the plains adjacent to a great lake near the centre of the country. After residing there about fifty years, they founded a town, since distinguished by the name of *Mexico*, which from humble beginnings soon grew to be the most considerable city in the New World. The Mexicans, long after they were established in their new possessions, continued, like other martial tribes in America, unacquainted with regal dominion, and were governed in peace, and conducted in war, by such as were entitled to pre-eminence by their wisdom or their valour. But among them, as in other states whose power and territories become extensive, the supreme authority centred at last in a single person; and when the Spaniards under Cortes invaded the country, Montezuma was the ninth monarch in order who had

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had ſwayed the Mexican ſceptre, not by hereditary right, but by election.

Very recent.

SUCH is the traditional tale of the Mexicans concerning the progreſs of their own empire. According to this, its duration was very ſhort. From the firſt migration of their parent tribe, they can reckon little more than three hundred years. From the eſtabliſhment of monarchical government, not above a hundred and thirty years, according to one account [e], or a hundred and ninety-ſeven, according to another computation [f], had elapſed. If, on one hand, we ſuppoſe the Mexican ſtate to have been of higher antiquity, and to have ſubſiſted during ſuch a length of time as the Spaniſh accounts of its civilization would naturally lead us to conclude, it is difficult to conceive how, among a people who poſſeſſed the art of recording events by pictures, and who conſidered it as an eſſential part of their national education, to teach their children to repeat the hiſtorical ſongs which celebrated the exploits of their anceſtors [g], the knowledge of paſt tranſactions ſhould be ſo ſlender and limited. If, on the other hand, we adopt their own ſyſtem with reſpect to the antiquities of their nation, it is no leſs difficult to account either for that improved ſtate of ſociety, or for the extenſive dominion to which their empire had attained,

[e] Acoſt. Hiſt. lib. vii. c. 8, &c. [f] Purchas Pilgr. iii. p. 1068, &c. [g] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 18.

when firſt viſited by the Spaniards. The infancy of nations is ſo long, and, even when every circumſtance is favourable to their progreſs, they advance ſo ſlowly towards any maturity of ſtrength or policy, that the recent origin of the Mexicans ſeems to be a ſtrong preſumption of ſome exaggeration, in the ſplendid deſcriptions which have been given of their government and manners.

Facts which prove their progreſs in civilization.

BUT it is not by theory or conjectures that hiſtory decides, with regard to the ſtate or character of nations. It produces facts as the foundation of every judgment which it ventures to pronounce. In collecting thoſe which muſt regulate our opinion in the preſent inquiry, ſome occur that ſuggeſt an idea of conſiderable progreſs in civilization in the Mexican empire, and others which ſeem to indicate that it had advanced but little beyond the ſavage tribes around it. Both ſhall be exhibited to the view of the reader, that, from comparing them, he may determine on which ſide the evidence preponderates.

The right of property fully eſtabliſhed.

THE right of private property was perfectly underſtood, and eſtabliſhed in its full extent. Among ſeveral ſavage tribes, we have ſeen, that the idea of a title to the ſeparate and excluſive poſſeſſion of any object was hardly known; and that among all, it was extremely limited and ill-defined. But in Mexico, where agriculture and induſtry had made ſome progreſs, the diſtinction between real

and

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and moveable possessions, between property in land and property in goods, had taken place. Both might be transferred from one person to another by sale or barter; both might descend by inheritance. Every person who could be denominated a freeman had property in land. This, however, they held by various tenures. Some possessed it in full right, and it descended to their heirs. The title of others to their lands was derived from the office or dignity which they enjoyed; and when deprived of the latter, they lost possession of the former. Both these modes of occupying land were deemed noble, and peculiar to citizens of the highest class. The tenure, by which the great body of the people held their property, was very different. In every district a certain quantity of land was measured out, in proportion to the number of families. This was cultivated by the joint labour of the whole; its produce was deposited in a common storehouse, and divided among them according to their respective exigencies. The members of the *Calpullee*, or associations, could not alienate their share of the common estate; it was an indivisible permanent property, destined for the support of their families[h]. In consequence of this distribution of the territory of the state, every man had an interest in its welfare, and the happiness of the individual was connected with the public security.

[h] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 15. Torquem. Mon. Ind. lib. xiv. c. 7 Corita, MS.

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The number and greatneſs of their cities.

One of the moſt ſtriking circumſtances, which diſtinguiſhes the Mexican empire from thoſe nations in America we have already deſcribed, is the number and greatneſs of its cities. While ſociety continues in a rude ſtate, the wants of men are ſo few, and they ſtand ſo little in need of mutual aſſiſtance, that their inducements to crowd together are extremely feeble. Their induſtry at the ſame time is ſo imperfect, that it cannot ſecure ſubſiſtence for any conſiderable number of families ſettled in one ſpot. They live diſperſed, at this period, from choice as well as from neceſſity, or at the utmoſt aſſemble in ſmall hamlets on the banks of the river which ſupplies them with food, or on the border of ſome plain left open by nature, or cleared by their own labour. The Spaniards, accuſtomed to this mode of habitation among all the ſavage tribes with which they were then acquainted, were aſtoniſhed, on entering New Spain, to find the natives reſiding in towns of ſuch extent as reſembled thoſe of Europe. In the firſt fervour of their admiration, they compared Zempoalla, though a town only of the ſecond or third ſize, to the cities of greateſt note in their own country. When, afterwards, they viſited in ſucceſſion Tlaſcala, Cholula, Tacuba, Tezeuco, and Mexico itſelf, their amazement increaſed ſo much, that it led them to convey ideas of their magnitude and populouſneſs bordering on what is incredible. Even when there is leiſure for obſervation, and no intereſt that leads to deceive, conjectural eſtimates of the

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the number of people in cities are extremely loofe, and ufually much exaggerated. It is not furprifing, then, that Cortez and his companions, little accuftomed to fuch computations, and powerfully tempted to magnify, in order to exalt the merit of their own difcoveries and conquefts, fhould have been betrayed into this common error, and have raifed their defcriptions confiderably above truth. For this reafon, fome confiderable abatement ought to be made from their calculation of the number of inhabitants in the Mexican cities, and we may fix the ftandard of their population much lower than they have done; but ftill they will appear to be cities of fuch confequence, as are not to be found but among people who have made fome confiderable progrefs in the arts of focial life[i]. Mexico, the capital of the empire, feems to have contained fixty thoufand inhabitants.

The feparation of profeffions.

THE feparation of profeffions among the Mexicans is a fymptom of improvement no lefs remarkable. Arts, in the early ages of fociety are fo few and fo fimple, that each man is fufficiently mafter of them all, to gratify every demand of his own limited defires. The favage can form his bow, point his arrows, rear his hut, and hollow his canoe, without calling in the aid of any hand more fkilful than his own. Time muft have augmented the wants of men, and ripened their ingenuity,

[i] See NOTE XXI.

before

before the productions of art became fo complicated in their ftructure, or fo curious in their fabric, that a particular courfe of education was requifite towards forming the artificer to expertnefs in contrivance and workmanfhip. In proportion as refinement fpreads, the diftinction of profeffions increafes, and they branch out into more numerous and minute fubdivifions. Among the Mexicans, this feparation of the arts neceffary in life had taken place to a confiderable extent. The functions of the mafon, the weaver, the goldfmith, the painter, and of feveral other crafts, were carried on by different perfons. Each was regularly inftructed in his calling. To it alone his induftry was confined; and by affiduous application to one object, together with the perfevering patience peculiar to Americans, their artizans attained to a degree of neatnefs and perfection in work, far beyond what could have been expected from the rude tools which they employed. Their various productions were brought into commerce; and by the exchange of them in the ftated markets held in the cities, their mutual wants were fupplied[k], in fuch orderly intercourfe as characterizes an improved ftate of fociety.

The diftinction of ranks.

THE diftinction of ranks eftablifhed in the Mexican empire is the next circumftance that merits attention.

[k] Cortes Relat. ap. Ramuf. iii. 239, &c. Gom. Cron. c. 79. Torquem, lib. xiii. c. 34. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 15, &c.

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attention. In ſurveying the ſavage tribes of America, we obſerved, that conſciouſneſs of equality, and impatience of ſubordination, are ſentiments natural to man in the infancy of civil life. During peace, the authority of a ſuperior is hardly felt among them, and even in war it is but little acknowledged. Strangers to the idea of property, the difference in condition reſulting from the inequality of it is unknown. Birth or titles confer no pre-eminence; it is only by perſonal merit and accompliſhments that diſtinction can be acquired. The form of ſociety was very different among the Mexicans. The great body of the people was in a moſt humiliating ſtate. A conſiderable number, known by the name of *Mayeques*, nearly reſembling in condition thoſe peaſants who, under various denominations, were conſidered, during the prevalence of the feudal ſyſtem, as inſtruments of labour attached to the ſoil. The *Mayeques* could not change their place of reſidence without permiſſion of the ſuperior on whom they depended. They were conveyed, together with the lands on which they were ſettled, from one proprietor to another; and were bound to cultivate the ground, and to perform ſeveral kinds of ſervile work [1]. Others were reduced to the loweſt form of ſubjection, that of domeſtic ſervitude, and felt the utmoſt rigour of that wretched ſtate. Their condition was held to be ſo vile, and their lives deemed

[1] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 17. Corita, MS.

to be of ſo little value, that a perſon who killed one of thoſe ſlaves was not ſubjected to any puniſhment [m]. Even thoſe conſidered as freemen were treated by their haughty lords as beings of an inferior ſpecies. The nobles, poſſeſſed of ample territories, were divided into various claſſes, to each of which peculiar titles of honour belonged. Some of theſe titles, like their lands, deſcended from father to ſon in perpetual ſucceſſion. Others were annexed to particular offices, or conferred during life as marks of perſonal diſtinction [n]. The monarch, exalted above all, enjoyed extenſive power, and ſupreme dignity. Thus the diſtinction of ranks was completely eſtabliſhed, in a line of regular ſubordination, reaching from the higheſt to the loweſt member of the community. Each of theſe knew what he could claim, and what he owed. The people, who were not allowed to wear a dreſs of the ſame faſhion, or to dwell in houſes of a form ſimilar to thoſe of the nobles, accoſted them with the moſt ſubmiſſive reverence. In the preſence of their ſovereign, they durſt not lift their eyes from the ground, or look him in the face [o]. The nobles themſelves, when admitted to an audience of their ſovereign, enter d bare-footed, in mean garments, and, as his ſlaves, paid him homage approaching to adoration. This reſpect due from inferiors to thoſe above them in rank, was

m Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 7.
n Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 15. Corita, MS.
o Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 14.

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eſtabliſhed with ſuch ceremonious accuracy, that it incorporated with the language, and influenced its genius and idiom. The Mexican tongue abounded in expreſſions of reverence and courteſy. The ſtile and appellations, uſed in the intercourſe between equals, would have been ſo unbecoming in the mouth of one in a lower ſphere, when he accoſted a perſon in higher rank, as to be deemed an inſult [p]. It is only in ſocieties, which time and the inſtitution of regular government have moulded into form, that we find ſuch an orderly arrangement of men into different ranks, and ſuch nice attention paid to their various rights.

Their political conſtitution.

THE ſpirit of the Mexicans, thus familiarized and bended to ſubordination, was prepared for ſubmitting to monarchical government. But the deſcriptions of their policy and laws, by the Spaniards who overturned them, are ſo inaccurate and contradictory, that it is difficult to delineate the form of their conſtitution with any preciſion. Sometimes they repreſent the monarchs of Mexico as abſolute, deciding according to their pleaſure, with reſpect to every operation of the ſtate. On other occaſions, we diſcover the traces of eſtabliſhed cuſtoms and laws, framed in order to circumſcribe the power of the crown, and we meet with rights and privileges of the nobles which ſeem to be oppoſed as barriers againſt its encroachments.

[p] See NOTE XXII.

This

This appearance of inconſiſtency has ariſen from inattention to the innovations of Montezuma upon the Mexican policy. His aſpiring ambition ſubverted the original ſyſtem of government, and introduced a pure deſpotiſm. He diſregarded the ancient laws, violated the privileges held moſt ſacred, and reduced his ſubjects of every order to the level of ſlaves [r]. The chiefs, or nobles of the firſt rank, ſubmitted to the yoke with ſuch reluctance, that, from impatience to ſhake it off, and hope of recovering their rights, many of them courted the protection of Cortes, and joined a foreign power againſt their domeſtic oppreſſor [s]. It is not then under the dominion of Montezuma, but under the government of his predeceſſors, that we can diſcover what was the original form and genius of Mexican policy. From the foundation of the monarchy to the election of Montezuma, it ſeems to have ſubſiſted with little variation. That body of citizens, which may be diſtinguiſhed by the name of nobility, formed the chief and moſt reſpectable order in the ſtate. They were of various ranks, as has already been obſerved, and their honours were acquired and tranſmitted in different manners. Their number ſeems to have been great. According to an author accuſtomed to examine with attention what he relates, there were in the Mexican empire thirty of this order, each of whom

[r] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 14. Torquem, lib. ii. c. 69.
[s] Herrera, dec. 2. lib. v. c. 10, 11. Torquem, lib. iv. c. 49.

had

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had in his territories about a hundred thouſand people, and ſubordinate to theſe, there were about three thouſand nobles of a lower claſs [t]. The territories belonging to the chiefs of Tezeuco and Tacuba, were hardly inferior in extent to thoſe of the Mexican monarch [u]. Each of theſe poſſeſſed complete territorial juriſdiction, and levied taxes from their own vaſſals. But all followed the ſtandard of Mexico in war, ſerving with a number of men in proportion to their domain, and moſt of them paid tribute to its monarch as their ſuperior lord.

In tracing thoſe great lines of the Mexican conſtitution, an image of feudal policy in its moſt rigid form riſes to view, and we diſcern its three diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics, a nobility poſſeſſing almoſt independent authority, a people depreſſed into the loweſt ſtate of ſubjection, and a king entruſted with the executive power of the ſtate. Its ſpirit and principles ſeem to have operated in the New World in the ſame manner, as in the ancient. The juriſdiction of the crown was extremely limited. All real and effective authority was retained by the Mexican nobles in their own hands, and the ſhadow of it only left to the king. Jealous to exceſs of their own rights, they guarded with moſt vigilant anxiety againſt the encroachments of their ſovereigns. By a fundamental law of the empire,

[t] Herrera, dec. 2. lib. viii. c. 12.

[u] Torquem, lib. ii. c. 57. Corita, MS.

it

it was provided that the king ſhould not determine concerning any point of general importance, without the approbation of a council compoſed of the prime nobility [x]. Unleſs he obtained their conſent he could not engage the nation in war, nor could he diſpoſe of the moſt conſiderable branch of the public revenue at pleaſure; it was appropriated to certain purpoſes from which it could not be diverted by the regal authority [y]. In order to ſecure full effect to thoſe conſtitutional reſtraints, the Mexican nobles did not permit their crown to deſcend by inheritance, but diſpoſed of it by election. The right of election ſeems to have been originally veſted in the whole body of nobility, but was afterwards committed to ſix electors, of whom the Chiefs of Tezeuco and Tacuba were always two. From reſpect for the family of their monarchs, the choice fell generally upon ſome perſon ſprung from it. But as the activity and valour of their prince were of greater moment to a people perpetually engaged in war, than a ſtrict adherence to the order of birth, collaterals of mature age or diſtinguiſhed merit were often preferred to thoſe who were nearer the throne in direct deſcent [z]. To this maxim, in their policy, the Mexicans appear to be indebted for ſuch a ſucceſſion of able and

[x] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 19. Id. dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 16. Corita, MS.

[y] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 17.

[z] Acoſta, lib. vi. c. 24. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 13. Corita, MS.

warlike

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warlike princes, as raiſed their empire in a ſhort period to that extraordinary height of power, which it had attained when Cortes landed in New Spain.

Power and ſplendour of their monarchs.

WHILE the juriſdiction of the Mexican monarchs continued to be limited, it is probable that it was exerciſed with little oſtentation. But as their authority became more extenſive, the ſplendour of their government augmented. It was in this laſt ſtate that the Spaniards beheld it; and ſtruck with the appearance of Montezuma's court, they deſcribe its pomp at great length, and with much admiration. The number of his attendants, the order, the ſilence, and the reverence with which they ſerved him; the vaſt extent of his royal manſion, the variety of its apartments allotted to different officers, and the oſtentation with which his grandeur was diſplayed, whenever he permitted his ſubjects to behold him, ſeem to reſemble the magnificence of the ancient monarchies in Aſia, rather than the ſimplicity of the infant ſtates in the New World.

Order of their government.

BUT it was not in the mere parade of royalty that the Mexican potentates exhibited their power, they manifeſted it more beneficially in the order and regularity with which they conducted the internal adminiſtration and police of their dominions. Complete juriſdiction, civil as well as criminal, over its own immediate vaſſals, was veſted in the crown.

crown. Judges were appointed for each department, and if we may rely on the account which the Spanish writers give of the maxims and laws upon which they founded their decisions with respect to the distribution of property and the punishment of crimes, justice was administred in the Mexican empire, with a degree of order and equity resembling what takes place in societies highly civilized.

Provision for the support of it.

THEIR attention in providing for the support of government was not less sagacious. Taxes were laid upon land, upon the acquisitions of industry, and upon commodities of every kind exposed to sale in the public markets. These duties, though considerable, were not arbitrary, or unequal. They were imposed according to established rules, and each knew what share of the common burden he had to bear. As the use of money was unknown, all the taxes were paid in kind, and thus not only the natural productions of all the different provinces in the empire, but every species of manufacture, and every work of ingenuity and art, were collected in the public store-houses. From those the emperor supplied his numerous train of attendants in peace, and his armies during war, with food, with clothes, and ornaments. People of inferior condition, neither possessing land nor engaged in commerce, were bound to the performance of various services. By their stated labour the crown-lands were cultivated, public works were carried

on,

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on, and the various houſes belonging to the emperor were built and kept in repair [a].

Their police.

THE improved ſtate of government among the Mexicans is conſpicuous, not only in points eſſential to the being of a well-ordered ſociety, but in ſeveral regulations of inferior conſequence with reſpect to police. The inſtitution, which I have already mentioned, of public couriers, ſtationed at proper intervals, to convey intelligence from one part of the empire to the other, was a refinement in police not introduced into any kingdom of Europe at that period. The ſtructure of the capital city in a lake, with artificial dykes, and cauſeways of great length, which ſerved as avenues to it from different quarters, erected in the water, with no leſs ingenuity than labour, ſeems to be an idea that could not have occurred to any but a civilized people. The ſame obſervation may be applied to the ſtructure of the aqueducts, or conduits, by which they conveyed a ſtream of freſh water, from a conſiderable diſtance, into the city, along one of the cauſeways [b]. The appointment of a number of perſons to clean the ſtreets, to light them by fires kindled in different places, and to patrole as watchmen during the night [c], diſcovers a degree

[a] Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 13. dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 16, 17. See NOTE XXIII.

[b] See NOTE XXIV.

[c] Herrera, dec. 2. lib. viii. c. 4. Torribio, MS.

of

of attention which even poliſhed nations are late in acquiring.

Their arts.

THE progreſs of the Mexicans in various arts, is conſidered as the moſt deciſive proof of their ſuperior refinement. Cortes, and the early Spaniſh authors, deſcribe this with rapture, and maintain, that the moſt celebrated European artiſts could not ſurpaſs or even equal them in ingenuity and neatneſs of workmanſhip. They repreſented men, animals, and other objects, by ſuch a diſpoſition of various coloured feathers, as is ſaid to have produced all the effects of light and ſhade, and to have imitated nature with truth and delicacy. Their ornaments of gold and ſilver have been deſcribed to be of a fabric no leſs curious. But in forming any idea, from general deſcriptions, concerning the ſtate of arts among nations imperfectly poliſhed, we are extremely ready to err. In examining the works of people whoſe advances in improvement are nearly the ſame with our own, we view them with a critical, and often with a jealous eye. Whereas, when conſcious of our own ſuperiority, we ſurvey the arts of nations comparatively rude, we are aſtoniſhed at works executed by them under ſuch manifeſt diſadvantages, and, in the warmth of our admiration, are apt to repreſent them as productions more finiſhed than they really are. To the influence of this illuſion, without ſuppoſing any intention to deceive, we may impute the

exaggeration

exaggeration of ſome Spaniſh authors, in their accounts of the Mexican arts.

It is not from thoſe deſcriptions, but from conſidering ſuch ſpecimens of their arts as are ſtill preſerved, that we muſt decide concerning their degree of merit. As the ſhip in which Cortes ſent to Charles V. the moſt curious productions of the Mexican artiſans, which were collected by the Spaniards when they firſt pillaged the empire, was taken by a French corſair[d], the remains of their ingenuity are leſs numerous than thoſe of the Peruvians. Whether any of their works with feathers, in imitation of painting, be ſtill extant in Spain, I have not learned; but many of their ornaments in gold and ſilver, as well as various utenſils employed in common life, are depoſited in the magnificent cabinet of natural and artificial productions, lately opened by the king of Spain; and I am informed by perſons on whoſe judgment and taſte I can rely, that theſe boaſted efforts of their art are uncouth repreſentations of common objects, or very coarſe images of the human and ſome other forms, deſtitute of grace and propriety[e]. The juſtneſs of theſe obſervations is confirmed by inſpecting the wooden prints or copper-plates of their paintings, which have been publiſhed by various authors. In them every figure of men, of quadrupeds, or birds, as well as every repreſenta-

[d] Relac. de Cort. Ramuſ. iii. 294, F.

[e] See NOTE XXV.

tion of inanimated nature, is extremely rude and aukward. The hardeſt Egyptian ſtile, ſtiff and imperfect as it was, is more elegant. The ſcrawls of children delineate objects almoſt as accurately.

But however low the Mexican paintings may be ranked, when viewed merely as works of art, a very different ſtation belongs to them, when conſidered as the records of their country, as hiſtorical monuments of its policy and tranſactions; and they become curious as well as intereſting objects of attention. The nobleſt and moſt beneficial invention of which human ingenuity can boaſt, is that of writing. But the firſt eſſays of this art, which hath contributed more than all others to the improvement of the ſpecies, were very rude, and it advanced towards perfection ſlowly, and by a gradual progreſſion. When the warrior, eager for fame, wiſhed to tranſmit ſome knowledge of his exploits to ſucceeding ages; when the gratitude of a people to their ſovereign prompted them to hand down an account of his beneficent deeds to poſterity; the firſt method of accompliſhing this, that ſeems to have occurred to them, was to delineate, in the beſt manner they could, figures repreſenting the action of which they were ſolicitous to preſerve the memory. Of this, which has very properly been called *picture-writing* [f], we find traces among ſome of the moſt ſavage tribes of America. When a leader returns from the field,

[f] Divine Legat. of Moſes, iii. 73.

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he ſtrips a tree of its bark, and with red paint ſcratches upon it ſome uncouth figures, which repreſent the order of his march, the number of his followers, the enemy whom he attacked, the ſcalps and captives which he brought home. To thoſe ſimple annals he truſts for renown, and ſoothes himſelf with hope that by their means he ſhall receive praiſe from the warriors of future times [g].

COMPARED with thoſe aukward eſſays of their ſavage countrymen, the paintings of the Mexicans may be conſidered as works of compoſition and deſign. They were not acquainted, it is true, with any other method of recording tranſactions, than that of delineating the objects which they wiſhed to repreſent. But they could exhibit a more complex ſeries of events in progreſſive order, and deſcribe, by a proper diſpoſition of figures, the occurrences of a king's reign from his acceſſion to his death; the progreſs of an infant's education from its birth until it attained to the years of maturity; the different recompences and marks of diſtinction conferred upon warriors, in proportion to the exploits which they had performed. Some ſingular ſpecimens of this picture-writing have been preſerved, which are juſtly conſidered as the moſt curious monuments of art brought from the New World. The moſt valuable of theſe was

[g] Sir W. Johnſon Philoſ. Tranſact. vol. lxiii. p. 143. Mem. de la Hontan. ii. 191. Lafitau, Mœurs de Sauv. ii. 43.

publiſhed

published by Purchas in sixty-six plates. It is divided into three parts. The first contains the history of the Mexican empire under its ten monarchs. The second is a tribute-roll, representing what each conquered town paid into the royal treasury. The third is a code of their institutions, domestic, political, and military. Another specimen of Mexican painting has been published in thirty-two plates, by the present archbishop of Toledo. To both are annexed a full explanation of what the figures were intended to represent, which was obtained by the Spaniards from Indians well acquainted with their own arts. The style of painting in all these is the same. They represent *things*, not *words*. They exhibit images to the eye, not ideas to the understanding. They may, therefore, be considered as the earliest and most imperfect essay of men in their progress towards discovering the art of writing. The defects in this mode of recording transactions must have been early felt. To paint every occurrence was, from its nature, a very tedious operation; and as affairs became more complicated, and events multiplied in any society, its annals must have swelled to an enormous bulk. Besides this, no objects could be delineated but those of sense; the conceptions of the mind had no corporeal form, and as long as picture-writing could not convey an idea of these, it must have been a very imperfect art. The necessity of improving it must have rouzed and sharpened invention, and the human mind holding the

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ſame courſe in the New World as in the Old, might have advanced by the ſame ſucceſſive ſteps, firſt, from an actual picture to the plain hieroglyphic; next, to the allegorical ſymbol; then to the arbitrary character; until, at length, an alphabet of letters was diſcovered, capable of expreſſing all the various combinations of ſound employed in ſpeech. In the paintings of the Mexicans we, accordingly, perceive, that this progreſs was begun among them. Upon an attentive inſpection of the plates, which I have mentioned, we may obſerve ſome approach to the plain or ſimple hieroglyphic, where ſome principal part or circumſtance in the ſubject is made to ſtand for the whole. In the annals of their kings, publiſhed by Purchas, the towns conquered by each are uniformly repreſented in the ſame manner by a rude delineation of a houſe; but in order to point out the particular towns which ſubmitted to their victorious arms, peculiar emblems, ſometimes natural objects, and ſometimes artificial figures, are employed. In the tribute-roll, publiſhed by the archbiſhop of Toledo, the houſe, which was properly the picture of the town, is omitted, and the emblem alone is employed to repreſent it. The Mexicans ſeem even to have made ſome advances beyond this, towards the uſe of the more figurative and fanciful hieroglyphic. In order to deſcribe a monarch, who had enlarged his dominions by force of arms, they painted a target ornamented with darts, and placed it between him and thoſe towns which he

ſubdued.

ſubdued. But it is only in one inſtance, the notation of numbers, that we diſcern any attempt to exhibit ideas which had no corporeal form. The Mexican painters had invented artificial marks, or *ſigns of convention*, for this purpoſe. By means of theſe, they computed the years of their kings reigns, as well as the amount of tribute to be paid into the royal treaſury. The figure of a circle repreſented unit, and in ſmall numbers, the computation was made by repeating it. Larger numbers were expreſſed by a peculiar mark, and they had ſuch as denoted all integral numbers, from twenty to eight thouſand. The ſhort duration of their empire prevented the Mexicans from advancing farther in that long courſe which conducts men from the labour of delineating real objects, to the ſimplicity and eaſe of alphabetic writing. Their records, notwithſtanding ſome dawn of ſuch ideas as might have led to a more perfect ſtyle, can be conſidered as nothing more than a ſpecies of picture-writing, ſo far improved as to mark their ſuperiority over the ſavage tribes of America; but ſtill ſo defective, as to prove that they had not proceeded far beyond the firſt ſtage in that progreſs which muſt be completed before any people can be ranked among poliſhed nations[d].

Their mode of computing time.

THEIR mode of computing time may be conſidered as a more deciſive evidence of their progreſs

[d] See NOTE XXVI.

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in improvement. They divided their year into eighteen months, each confifting of twenty days, amounting in all to three hundred and fixty. But as they obferved that the courfe of the fun was not completed in that time, they added five days to the year. Thefe, which were properly intercalary days, they termed *fupernumerary* or *wafte*; and as they did not belong to any month, no work was done, and no facred rite performed on them; they were devoted wholly to feftivity and paftime[c]. This near approach to philofophical accuracy is a remarkable proof that the Mexicans had beftowed fome attention upon inquiries and fpeculations, to which men in a very rude ftate never turn their thoughts.

Facts indicating a fmall progrefs in civilization.

SUCH are the moft ftriking particulars in the manners and policy of the Mexicans, which exhibit them to view as a people confiderably refined. From other circumftances, one is apt to fufpect that their character, and many of their inftitutions, did not differ greatly from thofe of the other inhabitants of America.

Their wars continual and ferocious.

LIKE the rude tribes around them, the Mexicans were inceffantly engaged in war, and the motives which prompted them to hoftility feem to have been the fame. They fought, in order to gratify their vengeance, by fhedding the blood of

[c] Acofta, lib. vi. c. 2.

their

their enemies. In battle they were chiefly intent on taking prifoners, and it was by the number of thefe that they eftimated the glory of victory. No captive was ever ranfomed or fpared. All were facrificed without mercy, and their flefh devoured with the fame barbarous joy as among the fierceft favages. On fome occafions it rofe to even wilder exceffes. Their principal warriors covered themfelves with the fkins of the unhappy victims, and danced about the ftreets, boafting of their own valour, and exulting over their enemies [f]. Even in their civil inftitutions we difcover traces of that barbarous difpofition which their fyftem of war infpired. The four chief counfellors of the empire were diftinguifhed by atrocious titles, which could have been affumed only by a people who delighted in blood [g]. This ferocity of character prevailed among all the nations of New Spain. The Tlafcalans, the people of Mechoacan, and other ftates at enmity with the Mexicans, delighted equally in war, and treated their prifoners with the fame cruelty. In proportion as mankind combine in focial union, and live under the influence of equal laws and regular policy, their manners foften, fentiments of humanity arife, and the rights of the fpecies come to be underftood. The fiercenefs of war abates, and even while engaged in hoftility, men remember what they owe one to another. The favage fights to deftroy, the citizen

[f] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 15. Gom. Chron. c. 217.

[g] See NOTE XXVII.

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to conquer. The former neither pities nor ſpares, the latter has acquired ſenſibility which tempers his rage. To this ſenſibility the Mexicans ſeem to have been perfect ſtrangers, and among them war was carried on with ſo much of its original barbarity, that we cannot but ſuſpect their degree of civilization to have been very imperfect.

Their funeral rites.

THEIR funeral rites were not leſs bloody than thoſe of the moſt ſavage tribes. On the death of any diſtinguiſhed perſonage, eſpecially of the Emperor, a certain number of his attendants were choſen to accompany him to the other world, and thoſe unfortunate victims were put to death without mercy, and buried in the ſame tomb [h].

Their agriculture imperfect.

THOUGH their agriculture was more extenſive than that of the roving tribes who truſted chiefly to their bow for food, it ſeems not to have ſupplied them with ſuch ſubſiſtence as men require when engaged in efforts of active induſtry. The Spaniards appear not to have been ſtruck with any ſuperiority of the Mexicans over the other people of America in bodily vigour. Both, according to their obſervation, were of ſuch a feeble frame as to be unable to endure fatigue, and the ſtrength of one Spaniard exceeded that of ſeveral Indians. This they imputed to their ſcanty diet, on poor fare, ſufficient to preſerve life, but not to give

[h] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 18. Gom. Chron. c. 202.

firmneſs

firmneſs to the conſtitution. Such a remark could hardly have been made with reſpect to any people furniſhed plentifully with the neceſſaries of life. The difficulty which Cortes found in procuring ſubſiſtence for his ſmall body of ſoldiers, who were often conſtrained to live on the ſpontaneous productions of the earth, ſeems to confirm the remark of the Spaniſh writers, and gives no high idea of the ſtate of cultivation in the Mexican empire[i].

A farther proof of this.

A PRACTICE that was univerſal in New Spain appears to favour this opinion. The Mexican women gave ſuck to their children for ſeveral years, and during that time they did not cohabit with their huſbands[k]. This precaution againſt a burdenſome increaſe of progeny, though neceſſary, as I have already obſerved, among ſavages, who, from the hardſhips of their condition, and the precariouſneſs of their ſubſiſtence, find it impoſſible to rear a numerous family, can hardly be ſuppoſed to have continued among a people who lived at eaſe and in abundance.

Doubts concerning the extent of the empire.

THE vaſt extent of the Mexican empire, which has been conſidered, and with juſtice, as the moſt deciſive proof of a conſiderable progreſs in regu-

[i] Relat. ap Ramuſ. iii. 306, A. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 17. dec. 2. lib. vi. c. 16.

[k] Gom. Chron. c. 208. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 16.

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lar government and police, is one of thoſe facts in the hiſtory of the New World which ſeems to have been admitted without due examination or ſufficient evidence. The Spaniſh hiſtorians, in order to magnify the valour of their countrymen, are accuſtomed to repreſent the dominion of Montezuma as ſtretching over all the provinces of New Spain from the North to the Southern Ocean. But a great part of the mountainous country was poſſeſſed by the *Otomies*, a fierce uncivilized people, who ſeem to have been the reſidue of the original inhabitants. The provinces towards the north and weſt of Mexico were occupied by the *Chichemecas*, and other tribes of hunters. None of theſe recognized the Mexican monarch as their ſuperior. Even in the interior and more level country, there were ſeveral cities and provinces which had never ſubmitted to the Mexican yoke. Tlaſcala, though only twenty-one leagues from the capital of the empire, was an independent and hoſtile republic. Cholula, though ſtill nearer, had been ſubjected only a ſhort time before the arrival of the Spaniards. Tepeaca, at the diſtance of thirty leagues from Mexico, ſeems to have been a ſeparate ſtate, governed by its own laws [1]. Mechoacan, the frontier of which extended within forty leagues of Mexico, was a powerful kingdom, remarkable for its implacable enmity to the Mexi-

[1] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. x. c. 15. 21. B. Diaz. c. 130.

can

can name [m]. By theſe hoſtile powers the Mexican empire was circumſcribed on every quarter, and the high ideas which we are apt to form of it from the deſcription of the Spaniſh hiſtorians, ſhould be conſiderably moderated.

Little intercourſe among its ſeveral provinces.

In conſequence of this independence of ſeveral ſtates in New Spain upon the Mexican empire, there was not any conſiderable intercourſe between its various provinces. Even in the interior country, not far diſtant from the capital, there ſeem to have been no roads to facilitate the communication of one diſtrict with another; and when the Spaniards firſt attempted to penetrate into it, they had to open their way through foreſts and marſhes [n]. Cortes, in his adventurous march from Mexico to Honduras in 1525, met with obſtructions, and endured hardſhips, little inferior to thoſe with which he muſt have ſtruggled in the moſt uncivilized regions of America. In ſome places, he could hardly force a paſſage through impervious woods, and plains overflowed with water. In others he found ſo little cultivation, that his troops were frequently in danger of periſhing by famine. Such facts correſpond ill with the pompous deſcription which the Spaniſh writers give of Mexican police and induſtry, and convey an idea of a country nearly ſimilar to that poſſeſſed by the Indian tribes

[m] Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 10.

[n] B. Diaz. c. 166. c. 176.

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in North America. Here and there a trading or a war path, as they are called in North America, led from one ſettlement to another [*], but generally there appeared no ſign of any eſtabliſhed communication, few marks of induſtry, and no monument of art.

Farther proof of this.

A PROOF of this imperfection in their commercial intercourſe no leſs ſtriking, is their want of money, or ſome univerſal ſtandard by which to eſtimate the value of commodities. The diſcovery of this is among the ſteps of greateſt conſequence in the progreſs of nations. Until it has been made, all their tranſactions muſt be ſo aukward, ſo operoſe, and ſo limited, that we may boldly pronounce that they have advanced but a little way in their career. The invention of ſuch a commercial ſtandard is of ſuch high antiquity in our hemiſphere, and riſes ſo far beyond the æra of authentic hiſtory, as to appear almoſt coeval with the exiſtence of ſociety. The precious metals ſeem to have been early employed for this purpoſe, and from their permanent value, their diviſibility, and many other qualities, they are better adapted to ſerve as a common ſtandard than any other ſubſtance of which nature has given us the command. But in the New World, where theſe metals abound moſt, this uſe of them was not known. The exigencies of rude tribes, or of monarchies imperfectly civilized, did not call for it. All their commercial

* Herrera, dec. 3. lib. vii. c. 8.

intercourſe

intercourſe was carried on by barter, and their ignorance of any common ſtandard by which to facilitate that exchange of commodities which contributes ſo much towards the comfort of life, may be juſtly mentioned as an evidence of the infant ſtate of their policy. But even in the New World the inconvenience of wanting ſome general inſtrument of commerce began to be felt, and ſome efforts were made towards ſupplying that defect. The Mexicans, among whom the number and greatneſs of their cities gave riſe to a more extended commerce than in any part of America, had begun to employ a common ſtandard of value, which rendered ſmaller tranſactions much more eaſy. As chocolate was the favourite drink of perſons in every rank of life, the nuts or almonds of cacao, of which it is compoſed, were of ſuch univerſal conſumption, that, in their ſtated markets, theſe were willingly received in return for commodities of ſmall price. Thus they came to be conſidered as the inſtrument of commerce, and the value of what one wiſhed to diſpoſe of, was eſtimated by the number of nuts of the cacao, which he might expect in exchange for it. This ſeems to be the utmoſt length which the Americans had advanced towards the diſcovery of any expedient for ſupplying the uſe of money. And if the want of it is to be held, on one hand, as a proof of their barbarity, this expedient for ſupplying that want, ſhould be admitted on the other, as an evidence no leſs ſatisfying, of ſome progreſs which the Mexicans

had

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had made in refinement and civilization, beyond the ſavage tribes around them.

Doubts concerning the ſtate of their cities.

In ſuch a rude ſtate were many of the Mexican provinces when firſt viſited by their conquerors. Even their cities, extenſive and populous as they were, ſeem more fit to be the habitation of men juſt emerging from barbarity, than the reſidence of a poliſhed people. The deſcription of Tlaſcala nearly reſembles that of an Indian village. A number of low ſtraggling huts, ſcattered about irregularly, according to the caprice of each proprietor, built with turf and ſtone, and thatched with reeds, without any light but what they received by a door, ſo low that it could not be entered upright[p]. In Mexico, though, from the peculiarity of its ſituation, the diſpoſition of the houſes was more orderly, the ſtructure of the greater part was equally mean. Nor does the fabric of their temples, and other public edifices, appear to have been ſuch as entitled them to the high praiſes beſtowed upon them by many Spaniſh authors. As far as one can gather from their obſcure and inaccurate deſcriptions, the great temple of Mexico, the moſt famous in New Spain, which has been repreſented as a magnificent building, raiſed to ſuch a height, that the aſcent to it was by a ſtair-caſe of a hundred and fourteen ſteps, was a ſolid maſs of earth of a ſquare form, faced partly

Temples,

[p] Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vi. c. 12.

with

with ſtone. Its baſe on each ſide extended ninety feet, and decreaſing gradually as it advanced in height, it terminated in a quadrangle of about thirty feet, where were placed a ſhrine of the deity and two altars on which the victims were ſacrificed [q]. All the other celebrated temples of New Spain exactly reſembled that of Mexico [r]. Such ſtructures convey no high idea of progreſs in art and ingenuity; and one can hardly conceive that a form more rude and ſimple could have occurred to a nation in its firſt efforts towards erecting any great work.

and other public buildings.

GREATER ſkill and ingenuity were diſplayed, if we may believe the Spaniſh hiſtorians, in the houſes of the emperor and in thoſe of the principal nobility. There, ſome elegance of deſign was viſible, and a commodious arrangement of the apartments was attended to. But if buildings correſponding to ſuch deſcriptions had ever exiſted in the Mexican cities, it is probable that ſome remains of them would ſtill be viſible. From the manner in which Cortes conducted the ſiege of Mexico, we can indeed eaſily account for the total deſtruction of whatever had any appearance of ſplendor in that capital. But as only two centuries and a half have elapſed ſince the conqueſt of New Spain, it ſeems altogether incredible that in a period ſo ſhort, every veſtige of this boaſted ele-

[q] Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 17.

[r] See NOTE XXVIII.

gance

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gance and grandeur ſhould have diſappeared; and that in the other cities, particularly in thoſe which did not ſuffer by the deſtructive hand of the conquerors, there are any ruins, which can be conſidered as monuments of their ancient magnificence.

Even in a village of the rudeſt Indians there are buildings of greater extent and elevation than common dwelling-houſes. Such as are deſtined for holding the council of the tribe, and in which all aſſemble on occaſions of public feſtivity, may be called ſtately edifices, when compared with the reſt. As among the Mexicans the diſtinction of ranks was eſtabliſhed, and property was unequally divided, the number of diſtinguiſhed ſtructures in their towns would of courſe be greater than in other parts of America. But theſe ſeem not to have been either ſo ſolid or magnificent as to merit the pompous epithets which ſome Spaniſh authors employ in deſcribing them. It is probable that, though more ornamented, and built on a larger ſcale, they were erected with the ſame ſlight materials which the Indians employed in their common buildings[s], and Time, in a ſpace much leſs than two hundred and fifty years, may have ſwept away all remains of them[t].

From this enumeration of facts, it ſeems, upon the whole, to be evident, that the ſtate of ſociety

[s] See NOTE XXIX. [t] See NOTE XXX.

in

in Mexico was conſiderably advanced beyond that of the ſavage tribes which we have delineated. But it is no leſs manifeſt, that with reſpect to many particulars, the Spaniſh accounts of their progreſs appear to be highly embelliſhed. There is not a more frequent or a more fertile ſource of deception in deſcribing the manners and arts of ſavage nations, or of ſuch as are imperfectly civilized, than that of applying to them the names and phraſes appropriated to the inſtitutions and refinements of poliſhed life. When the leader of a ſmall tribe, or the head of a rude community, is dignified with the name of king or emperor, the place of his reſidence can receive no other name but that of his palace; and whatever his attendants may be, they muſt be called his court. Under ſuch appellations they acquire an importance and dignity which does not belong to them. The illuſion ſpreads, and giving a falſe colour to every part of the narrative, the imagination is ſo much carried away with the reſemblance, that it becomes difficult to diſcern objects as they really are. The Spaniards, when they firſt touched on the Mexican coaſt, were ſo much ſtruck with the appearance of attainments in policy and in the arts of life, far ſuperior to thoſe of the rude tribes with which they were hitherto acquainted, that they fancied they had at length diſcovered a civilized people in the New World. This compariſon between the people of Mexico and their uncultivated neighbours, they appear to have kept conſtantly in view, and obſerving

BOOK VII. ſerving with admiration many things which marked the pre-eminence of the former, they employ in deſcribing their imperfect policy and infant arts, ſuch terms as are applicable to the inſtitutions of men far beyond them in improvement. Both theſe circumſtances concur in detracting from the credit due to the deſcriptions of Mexican manners by the early Spaniſh writers. By drawing a parallel between them and thoſe of people ſo much leſs civilized, they raiſed their own ideas too high. By their mode of deſcribing them, they conveyed ideas to others no leſs exalted above truth. Later writers have adopted the ſtyle of the original hiſtorians, and improved upon it. The colours with which De Solis delineates the character of Montezuma, the ſplendour of his court, the laws and policy of his empire, are the ſame that he muſt have employed in exhibiting to view the monarch and inſtitutions of an highly poliſhed people.

But though we may admit, that the warm imagination of the Spaniſh writers has added ſome embelliſhment to their deſcriptions, this will not juſtify the deciſive and peremptory tone, with which ſeveral authors pronounce all their accounts of the Mexican power, policy and laws, to be the fictions of men who wiſhed to deceive, or who delighted in the marvellous. There are few hiſtorical facts that can be aſcertained by evidence more unexceptionable, than may be produced in ſupport of the material articles, in the deſcription of the

Mexican conſtitution and manners. Eye witneſſes relate what they had beheld, men who had reſided among the Mexicans, both before and after the conqueſt, deſcribe inſtitutions and cuſtoms which were familiar to them, perſons of ſuch different profeſſions that objects muſt have preſented themſelves to their view under every various aſpect; ſoldiers, prieſts, and lawyers, all concur in their teſtimony. Had Cortes ventured to impoſe upon his ſovereign, by exhibiting to him a picture of imaginary manners, there wanted not enemies and rivals who were qualified to detect his deceit, and who would have rejoiced in expoſing it. But according to the juſt remark of an author, whoſe ingenuity has illuſtrated, and whoſe eloquence has adorned, the hiſtory of America [u], this ſuppoſition is in itſelf as improbable, as the attempt would have been audacious. Who among the deſtroyers of this great empire was ſo enlightened by ſcience, or ſo attentive to the progreſs and operations of men in ſocial life, as to frame a fictitious ſyſtem of policy ſo well combined and ſo conſiſtent, as that which they delineate, in their accounts of the Mexican government? Where could they have borrowed the idea of many inſtitutions in legiſlation and police, to which, at that period, there was nothing parallel in the nations with which they were acquainted? There was not, at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, a regular eſtabliſhment of

[u] M. l'Abbé Raynal Hiſt. philoſ. & polit. &c. iii. 127.

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posts for conveying intelligence to the sovereign of any kingdom in Europe. The same observation will apply to what the Spaniards relate, with respect to the structure of the city of Mexico, the regulations concerning its police, and various laws established for the administration of justice, or securing the happiness of the community. Whoever is accustomed to contemplate the progress of nations, will often, at very early stages of it, discover a premature and unexpected dawn of those ideas, which give rise to institutions that are the pride and ornament of its most advanced period. Even in a state as imperfectly polished as the Mexican empire, the happy genius of some sagacious observer, excited or aided by circumstances unknown to us, may have introduced institutions which are seldom found but in societies highly refined. But it is almost impossible that the illiterate conquerors of the New World should have formed in any one instance a conception of customs and laws, beyond the standard of improvement in their own age and country. Or if Cortes and his followers had been capable of this, what inducement had those by whom they were superseded to continue the deception? Why should Corita, or Motolinea, or Acosta, have amused their sovereign or their fellow citizens with a tale purely fabulous?

Religion of the Mexicans.

In one particular, however, the guides whom we must follow have represented the Mexicans to be more barbarous, perhaps, than they really were. Their

Their religious tenets, and the rites of their worſhip, are deſcribed by them as wild and cruel in an extreme degree. Religion, which occupies no conſiderable place in the thoughts of a ſavage, whoſe conceptions of any ſuperior power are obſcure, and his ſacred rites few as well as ſimple, was formed, among the Mexicans, into a regular ſyſtem, with its complete train of prieſts, temples, victims, and feſtivals. This, of itſelf, is a clear proof that the ſtate of the Mexicans was very different from that of the ruder American tribes. But from the extravagance of their religious notions, or the barbarity of their rites, no concluſion can be drawn with certainty concerning the degree of their civilization. For nations, long after their ideas begin to enlarge, and their manners to refine, adhere to ſyſtems of ſuperſtition founded on the crude conceptions of early ages. From the genius of the Mexican religion we may, however, form a moſt juſt concluſion with reſpect to its influence upon the character of the people. The aſpect of ſuperſtition in Mexico was gloomy and atrocious. Its divinities were clothed with terror, and delighted in vengeance. They were exhibited to the people under deteſtable forms, which created horror. The figures of ſerpents, of tygers, and of other deſtructive animals, decorated their temples. Fear was the only principle that inſpired their votaries. Faſts, mortifications, and penances, all rigid, and many of them excruciating to an extreme degree, were the means employed to appeaſe

 the

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the wrath of their gods, and the Mexicans never approached their altars without ſprinkling them with blood drawn from their own bodies. But, of all offerings, human ſacrifices were deemed the moſt acceptable. This religious belief, mingling with the implacable ſpirit of vengeance, and adding new force to it, every captive taken in war was brought to the temple, was devoted as a victim to the deity, and ſacrificed with rites no leſs ſolemn than cruel [x]. The heart and head were the portion conſecrated to the gods; the warrior, by whoſe prowеſs the priſoner had been ſeized, carried off the body to feaſt upon it with his friends. Under the impreſſion of ideas ſo dreary and terrible, and accuſtomed daily to ſcenes of bloodſhed rendered awful by religion, the heart of man muſt harden, and be ſteeled to every ſentiment of humanity. The ſpirit of the Mexicans was accordingly unfeeling, and the genius of their religion ſo far counterbalanced the influence of policy and arts, that, notwithſtanding their progreſs in both, their manners, inſtead of ſoftening, became more fierce. To what circumſtances it was owing that ſuperſtition aſſumed ſuch a dreadful form among the Mexicans, we have not ſufficient knowledge of their hiſtory to determine. But its influence is viſible, and produced an effect that is ſingular in the hiſtory of the human ſpecies. The manners of

[x] Cort. Relat. ap. Ramuſ. iii. 240, &c. B. Diaz. c. 82. Acoſta, lib. v. c. 13, &c. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 15, &c. Gomara Chron. c. 80, &c. See NOTE XXXI.

the

the people in the New World who had made the greateſt progreſs in the arts of policy, were the moſt ferocious, and the barbarity of ſome of their cuſtoms exceeded even thoſe of the ſavage ſtate.

Pretenſions of Peru to an high antiquity

THE empire of Peru boaſts of an higher antiquity than that of Mexico. According to the traditionary accounts collected by the Spaniards, it had ſubſiſted four hundred years, under twelve ſucceſſive monarchs. But the knowledge of their ancient ſtory, which the Peruvians could communicate to their conquerors, muſt have been both imperfect and uncertain[z]. Like the other American nations, they were totally unacquainted with the art of writing, and deſtitute of the only means by which the memory of paſt tranſactions can be preſerved with any degree of accuracy. Even among people to whom the uſe of letters is known, the æra where the authenticity of hiſtory commences, is much poſterior to the introduction of writing. That noble invention continued long ſubſervient to the common buſineſs and wants of life before it was employed in recording events, with a view of conveying information from one age to another. But in no country did ever tradition alone carry down hiſtoric knowledge, in any full continued ſtream, during a period of half the length that the monarchy of Peru is ſaid to have ſubſiſted.

uncertain.

[z] See NOTE XXXII.

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Defects in their records by *Quipos.*

THE *Quipos*, or knots on cords of different colours, which are celebrated by authors fond of the marvellous, as if they had been regular annals of the empire, imperfectly supplied the place of writing. According to the obscure description of them by Acosta [a], which Garcilasso de la Vega has adopted with little variation and no improvement, the quipos seem to have been a device for rendering calculation more expeditious and accurate. By the various colours different objects were denoted, and by each knot a distinct number. Thus an account was taken, and a kind of register kept, of the inhabitants in each province, or of the several productions collected there for public use. But as by these knots, however varied or combined, no moral or abstract idea, no operation or quality of the mind could be represented, they contributed little towards preserving the memory of ancient events and institutions. The Mexican paintings and symbols, rude as they were, conveyed more knowledge of remote transactions, than the Peruvians could derive from their boasted quipos. Had the latter been even of more extensive use, and better adapted to supply the place of written records, they perished so generally, together with other monuments of Peruvian ingenuity, in the wreck occasioned by the Spanish conquest, and the civil wars subsequent to it, that no accession of light or knowledge comes from them. All the zeal of Garcilasso de la Vega, for the honour of that

[a] Hist, lib. vi. c. 8.

race

race of monarchs from whom he descended, all the industry of his researches, and the superior advantages with which he carried them on, opened no source of information unknown to the Spanish authors who wrote before him. In his *Royal Commentaries*, he confines himself to illustrate what they had related concerning the antiquities and institutions of Peru [b]; and his illustrations, like their accounts, are derived entirely from the traditionary tales current among his countrymen.

VERY little credit then is due to the minute details which have been given of the exploits, the battles, the conquests, and private character of the early Peruvian monarchs. We can rest upon nothing in their story, as authentic, but a few facts, so interwoven in the system of their religion and policy, as preserved the memory of them from being lost; and upon the description of such customs and institutions as continued in force at the time of the conquest, and fell under the immediate observation of the Spaniards. By attending carefully to these, and endeavouring to separate them from what appears to be fabulous, or of doubtful authority, I have laboured to form an idea of the Peruvian government and manners.

Origin of their civil policy.

THE people of Peru, as I have already observed [c], had not advanced beyond the rudest form

[b] Lib. i. c. 10. [c] Book vi. p. 21, &c.

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of ſavage life, when Manco Capac, and his conſort Mama Ocollo, appeared to inſtruct and civilize them. Who theſe extraordinary perſonages were, whether they imported their ſyſtem of legiſlation and knowledge of arts from ſome country more improved, or, if natives of Peru, how they acquired ideas ſo far ſuperior to thoſe of the people whom they addreſſed, are circumſtances with reſpect to which the Peruvian tradition conveys no information. Manco Capac and his conſort, taking advantage of the propenſity in the Peruvians to ſuperſtition, and particularly of their veneration for the Sun, pretended to be children of that glorious luminary, and to deliver their inſtructions in his name and authority. The multitude liſtened and believed. What reformation in policy and manners the Peruvians aſcribe to thoſe founders of their empire, and how, from the precepts of the Inca and his conſort, their anceſtors gradually acquired ſome knowledge of thoſe arts, and ſome reliſh for that induſtry, which render ſubſiſtence ſecure and life comfortable, hath been formerly related. Thoſe bleſſings were originally confined within narrow precincts; for the authority of the firſt Inca did not reach many leagues beyond Cuzco. But, in proceſs of time, his ſucceſſors extended their dominion over all the regions that ſtretch to the weſt of the Andes from Chili to Quito, eſtabliſhing in every province their peculiar policy and religious inſtitutions.

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Founded in religion.

THE moſt ſingular and ſtriking circumſtance in the Peruvian government, is the influence of religion upon its genius and laws. Religious ideas make ſuch a feeble impreſſion on the mind of a ſavage, that their effect upon his ſentiments and manners is hardly perceptible. Among the Mexicans, religion, reduced into a regular ſyſtem, and holding a conſiderable place in their public inſtitutions, operated with conſpicuous efficacy in forming the peculiar character of that people. But in Peru, the whole ſyſtem of civil policy was founded on religion. The Inca appeared not only as a legiſlator, but as the meſſenger of Heaven. His precepts were received not merely as the injunctions of a ſuperior, but as the mandates of the Deity. His race was held to be ſacred; and in order to preſerve it diſtinct, without being polluted by any mixture of leſs noble blood, the ſons of Manco Capac married their own ſiſters, and no perſon was ever admitted to the throne who could not claim it by ſuch a pure deſcent. To thoſe *Children of the Sun*, for that was the appellation beſtowed upon all the offspring of the firſt Inca, the people looked up with the reverence due to beings of a ſuperior order. They were deemed to be under the immediate protection of the deity from whom they iſſued, and by him every order of the reigning Inca was ſuppoſed to be dictated.

FROM

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Two remarkable effects of this.

The absolute power of the Inca.

FROM those ideas two consequences resulted. The authority of the Inca was unlimited and absolute, in the most extensive meaning of the words. Whenever the decrees of a prince are considered as the commands of the Divinity, it is not only an act of rebellion, but of impiety, to dispute or oppose his will. Obedience becomes a duty of religion; and as it would be profane to controul a monarch under the guidance of Heaven, and presumptuous to advise him, nothing remains but to submit with implicit respect. This must necessarily be the effect of every government established on pretensions of intercourse with superior powers. Such accordingly was the blind submission which the Peruvians yielded to their sovereigns. The persons of highest rank and greatest power in their dominions acknowledged them to be of a more exalted nature; and in testimony of this, when admitted into their presence, they entered with a burden upon their shoulders, as an emblem of their servitude, and willingness to bear whatever the Inca was pleased to impose. Among their subjects, force was not requisite to second their commands. Every officer entrusted with the execution of them was revered, and, according to the account of an intelligent observer of Peruvian manners [d], might proceed alone from one extremity of the empire to another, without meeting opposition; for, on producing a fringe from the royal *Borla*, an ornament peculiar to the reigning

[d] Zarate, lib. i. c. 13.

Inca,

Inca, the lives and fortunes of the people were at his diſpoſal.

All crimes puniſhed capitally.

ANOTHER conſequence of eſtabliſhing government in Peru on the foundation of religion was, that all crimes were puniſhed capitally. They were not conſidered as tranſgreſſions of human laws, but as inſults offered to the Deity. Each, without any diſtinction between ſuch as were ſlight and ſuch as were atrocious, called for vengeance, and could be expiated only by the blood of the offender. Conſonantly to the ſame ideas, puniſhment followed the treſpaſs with inevitable certainty, becauſe an offence againſt Heaven was deemed ſuch an high enormity as could not be pardoned [e]. Among a people of corrupted morals, maxims of juriſprudence ſo ſevere and unrelenting, by rendering men ferocious and deſperate, would be more apt to multiply crimes than to reſtrain them. But the Peruvians, of ſimple manners and unſuſpicious faith, were held in ſuch awe by this rigid diſcipline, that the number of offenders was extremely ſmall. Veneration for monarchs, enlightened and directed, as they believed, by the divinity whom they adored, prompted them to their duty; the dread of puniſhment, which they were taught to conſider as unavoidable vengeance inflicted by offended Heaven, withheld them from evil.

[e] Vega, lib. ii. c. 6.

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Mild genius of their religion.

The ſyſtem of ſuperſtition on which the Incas ingrafted their pretenſions to ſuch high authority, was of a genius very different from that eſtabliſhed among the Mexicans. Manco Capac turned the veneration of his followers entirely towards natural objects. The Sun, as the great ſource of light, of joy, and fertility in the creation, attracted their principal homage. The Moon and Stars, as co-operating with him, were entitled to ſecondary honours. Wherever the propenſity in the human mind to acknowledge and to adore ſome ſuperior power, takes this direction, and is employed in contemplating the order and benificence that really exiſt in nature, the ſpirit of ſuperſtition is mild. Wherever imaginary beings, created by the fancy and the fears of men, are ſuppoſed to preſide in nature, and become the objects of worſhip, ſuperſtition always aſſumes a more ſevere and atrocious form. Of the latter we have an example among the Mexicans, of the former among the people of Peru. The Peruvians had not, indeed, made ſuch progreſs in obſervation or inquiry, as to have attained juſt conceptions of the Deity; nor was there in their language any proper name or appellation of the Supreme Power, which intimated, that they had formed any idea of him as the Creator and Governor of the World[f]. But by directing their veneration to that glorious luminary, which, by its univerſal and vivifying energy, is the beſt emblem of divine beneficence,

[f] Acoſta, lib. v. c. 3.

the

the rites and obſervances which they deemed acceptable to him were innocent and humane. They offered to the Sun a part of thoſe productions which his genial warmth had called forth from the boſom of the earth, and reared to maturity. They ſacrificed, as an oblation of gratitude, ſome of the animals who were indebted to his influence for nouriſhment. They preſented to him choice ſpecimens of thoſe works of ingenuity which his light had guided the hand of man in forming. But the Incas never ſtained his altars with human blood, nor could they conceive that their beneficent father the Sun would be delighted with ſuch horrid victims [g]. Thus the Peruvians, unacquainted with thoſe barbarous rites which extinguiſh ſenſibility, and ſuppreſs the feelings of nature at the ſight of human ſufferings, were formed, by the ſpirit of the ſuperſtition which they had adopted, to a national character, more gentle than that of any people in America.

Its influence on civil policy,

THE influence of this ſuperſtition operated even upon their civil inſtitutions, and tended to correct in them whatever was adverſe to gentleneſs of character. The dominion of the Incas, though the moſt abſolute of all deſpotiſms, was mitigated by its alliance with religion. The mind was not humbled and depreſſed by the idea of a forced ſubjection to the will of a ſuperior; obedience,

[g] See NOTE XXXIII.

paid

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paid to one who was believed to be clothed with divine authority, was willingly yielded, and implied no degradation. The ſovereign, conſcious that the ſubmiſſive reverence of his people flowed from their belief of his heavenly deſcent, was continually reminded of a diſtinction which prompted him to imitate that beneficent power which he was ſuppoſed to repreſent. In conſequence of thoſe impreſſions, there hardly occurs in the traditional hiſtory of Peru, any inſtance of rebellion againſt the reigning prince, and, among twelve ſucceſſive monarchs, there was not one tyrant.

and on their military ſyſtem.

EVEN the wars in which the Incas engaged, were carried on with a ſpirit very different from that of other American nations. They fought not, like ſavages, to deſtroy and exterminate; or, like the Mexicans, to glut blood-thirſty divinities with human ſacrifices. They conquered, in order to reclaim and civilize the vanquiſhed, and to diffuſe the knowledge of their own inſtitutions and arts. Priſoners ſeem not to have been expoſed to the inſults and tortures, which were their lot in every other part of the New World. The Incas took the people whom they ſubdued under their protection, and admitted them to a participation of all the advantages enjoyed by their original ſubjects. This practice, ſo repugnant to American ferocity, and reſembling the humanity of the moſt poliſhed nations, muſt be aſcribed, like other peculiarities which we have obſerved in the Peruvian

manners, to the genius of their religion. The Incas, confidering the homage paid to any object but the heavenly powers which they adored as impious, were fond of gaining profelytes to their favourite fyftem. The idols of every conquered province were carried in triumph to the great temple at Cuzco [h], and placed there as trophies of the fuperior power of the divinity who was the protector of the empire. The people were treated with lenity, and inftructed in the religious tenets of their new mafters [i], that the conqueror might have the glory of having added to the number of the votaries of his father the Sun.

Peculiar ftate of property.

THE ftate of property in Peru was no lefs fingular than that of religion, and contributed, likewife, towards giving a mild turn of character to the people. All the lands capable of cultivation were divided into three fhares. One was confecrated to the Sun, and the product of it was applied to the erection of temples, and furnifhing what was requifite towards celebrating the public rites of religion. The fecond belonged to the Inca, and was fet apart as the provifion made by the community for the fupport of government. The third and largeft fhare was referved for the maintenance of the people, among whom it was parcelled out. No perfon, however, had a right of exclufive property in the portion allotted to

[h] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 4. Vega, lib. v. c. 12.

[i] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 8.

him.

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him. He poſſeſſed it only for a year, at the expiration of which a new diviſion was made, in proportion to the rank, the number, and exigencies of each family. All thoſe lands were cultivated by the joint induſtry of the community. The people, ſummoned by a proper officer, repaired in a body to the fields, and performed their common taſk, while ſongs and muſical inſtruments cheered them to their labour [k]. By this ſingular diſtribution of territory, as well as by the mode of cultivating it, the idea of a common intereſt, and of mutual ſubſerviency, was continually inculcated. Each individual felt his connection with thoſe around him, and knew that he depended on their friendly aid for what increaſe he was to reap. A ſtate thus conſtituted may be conſidered as one great family, in which the union of the members was ſo complete, and the exchange of good offices ſo perceptible, as to create ſtronger attachment, and to bind man to man in cloſer intercourſe, than ſubſiſted under any form of ſociety eſtabliſhed in America. From this reſulted gentle manners, and mild virtues unknown in the ſavage ſtate, and with which the Mexicans were little acquainted.

Effects of this.

Inequality of ranks.

But, though the inſtitutions of the Incas were ſo framed as to ſtrengthen the bonds of affection among their ſubjects, there was great inequality in their condition. The diſtinction of ranks was fully

[k] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 2. Vega, lib. v. c. 5.

 eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed in Peru. A great body of the inhabitants, under the denomination of *Yanaconas*, were held in a ſtate of ſervitude. Their garb and houſes were of a form different from thoſe of freemen. Like the *Tamemes* of Mexico, they were employed in carrying burdens, and in performing every other work of drudgery [l]. Next to them in rank, were ſuch of the people as were free, but diſtinguiſhed by no official or hereditary honours. Above them were raiſed, thoſe whom the Spaniards call *Orejones*, from the ornaments worn in their ears. They formed what may be denominated the order of nobles, and in peace as well as war held every office of power or truſt [m]. At the head of all were the children of the Sun, who, by their high deſcent, and peculiar privileges, were as much exalted above the Orejones, as theſe were elevated beyond the people.

State of arts.

SUCH a form of ſociety, from the union of its members, as well as from the diſtinction in their ranks, was favourable to progreſs in the arts. But the Spaniards having been acquainted with the improved ſtate of various arts in Mexico, ſeveral years before they diſcovered Peru, were not ſo much ſtruck with what they obſerved in the latter country, and deſcribe the appearances of ingenuity there with leſs warmth of admiration. The Peru-

[l] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4. lib. x. c. 8.

[m] Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 1.

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vians, neverthelefs, had advanced far beyond the Mexicans, both in the neceffary arts of life, and in fuch as have fome title to the name of elegant.

Improved ftate of agriculture.

In Peru, agriculture, the art of primary neceffity in focial life, was more extenfive, and carried on with greater fkill than in any part of America. The Spaniards, in their progrefs through the country, were fo fully fupplied with provifions of every kind, that in the relation of their adventures we meet with few of thofe difmal fcenes of diftrefs occafioned by famine, in which the conquerors of Mexico were fo often involved. The quantity of foil under cultivation was not left to the difcretion of individuals, but regulated by public authority in proportion to the exigencies of the community. Even the calamity of an unfruitful feafon was but little felt, for the product of the lands confecrated to the Sun, as well as thofe fet apart for the Incas, being depofited in the *Tambos*, or public ftorehoufes, it remained there as a ftated provifion for times of fcarcity[n]. As the extent of cultivation was determined with fuch provident attention to the demands of the ftate, the invention and induftry of the Peruvians were called forth to extraordinary exertions, by certain defects peculiar to their climate and foil. All the vaft rivers that flow from the Andes take their courfe eaftward to the Atlantic Ocean. Peru is watered only by fome

[n] Zarate, lib. i. c. 14. Vega, lib. i. c. 8.

ftreams

ſtreams which ruſh down from the mountains like torrents. A great part of the low-country is ſandy and barren, and never refreſhed with rain. In order to render ſuch an unpromiſing region fertile, the ingenuity of the Peruvians had recourſe to various expedients. By means of artificial canals conducted, with much patience and conſiderable art, from the torrents that poured acroſs their country, they conveyed a regular ſupply of moiſture to their fields [o]. They enriched the ſoil by manuring it with the dung of ſea-fowls, of which they found an inexhauſtible ſtore on all the iſlands ſcattered along their coaſts [p]. In deſcribing the cuſtoms of any nation thoroughly civilized, ſuch practices would hardly draw attention, or be mentioned as in any degree remarkable; but in the hiſtory of the improvident race of men in the New World, they are entitled to notice as ſingular proofs of induſtry and of art. The uſe of the plough, indeed, was unknown to the Peruvians. They turned up the earth with a kind of mattock of hard wood [q]. Nor was this labour deemed ſo degrading as to be devolved wholly upon the women. Both ſexes joined in performing this neceſſary work. Even the children of the Sun ſet an example of induſtry, by cultivating a field near Cuzco with their own hands, and they dignified this func-

[o] Zarate, lib. i. c. 4. Vega, lib. v. c. 1. & 24.

[p] Acoſta, lib. iv. c. 37. Vega, lib. v. c. 3. See NOTE XXXIV.

[q] Zarate, lib. i. c. 8.

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tion, by denominating it their triumph over the earth [r].

Their buildings.

The ſuperior ingenuity of the Peruvians is obvious, likewiſe, in the conſtruction of their houſes and public buildings. In the extenſive plains which ſtretch along the Pacific Ocean, where the ſky is perpetually ſerene, and the climate mild, their houſes were very properly of a fabric extremely ſlight. But in the higher regions, where rain falls, where the viciſſitude of ſeaſons is known, and their rigour felt, houſes were conſtructed with greater ſolidity. They were generally of a ſquare form, the walls about eight feet high, built with bricks hardened in the ſun, the door low and ſtrait, and without any windows. Simple as theſe ſtructures were, and rude as the materials may ſeem to to be, of which they were formed, they were ſo durable, that many of them ſtill ſubſiſt in different parts of Peru, long after every monument that might have conveyed to us any idea of the domeſtic ſtate of the other American nations has vaniſhed from the face of the earth. But it was in the temples conſecrated to the Sun, and in the buildings deſtined for the reſidence of their monarchs, that the Peruvians diſplayed the utmoſt extent of their art and contrivance. The deſcriptions of them by ſuch of the Spaniſh writers as had an opportunity of contemplating them, while, in ſome meaſure,

[r] Vega, lib. v. c. 2.

entire, might have appeared highly exaggerated, if the ruins which ſtill remain, did not vouch the truth of their relations. Theſe ruins of ſacred or royal buildings are found in every province of the empire, and by their frequency demonſtrate that they are monuments of a powerful people, who muſt have ſubſiſted, during a period of ſome extent, in a ſtate of no inconſiderable improvement. They appear to have been edifices various in their dimenſions. Some of a moderate ſize, many of immenſe extent, all remarkable for ſolidity, and reſembling each other in the ſtile of architecture. The temple of Pachacamac, together with a palace of the Inca, and a fortreſs, were ſo connected together as to form one great ſtructure, above half a league in circuit. In this prodigious pile, the ſame ſingular taſte in building is conſpicuous, as in other works of the Peruvians. As they were unacquainted with the uſe of the pulley, and other mechanical powers, and could not elevate the large ſtones and bricks which they employed in building to any conſiderable height, the walls of this edifice, in which they ſeem to have made their greateſt effort towards magnificence, did not riſe above twelve feet from the ground. Though they had not diſcovered the uſe of mortar or of any other cement in building, the bricks or ſtones were joined with ſo much nicety, that the ſeams can hardly be diſcerned*. The apartments, as far as the diſ-

* See NOTE XXXV.

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tribution of them can be traced in the ruins, were ill-difpofed, and afforded little accommodation. There was not a fingle window in any part of the building; and as no light could enter but by the door, all the apartments of largeft dimenfion muft either have been perfectly dark, or illuminated by fome other means. But with all thefe, and many other imperfections that might be mentioned in their art of building, the works of the Peruvians which ftill remain, muft be confidered as ftupendous efforts of a people unacquainted with the ufe of iron, and convey to us an high idea of the power poffeffed by their ancient monarchs.

Their public roads,

THESE, however, were not the nobleft or moft ufeful works of the Incas. The two great roads from Cuzco to Quito, extending in an uninterrupted ftretch above five hundred leagues, are entitled to ftill higher praife. The one was conducted through the interior and mountainous country, the other through the plains on the fea-coaft. From the language of admiration in which fome of the early writers exprefs their aftonifhment when they firft viewed thofe roads, and from the more pompous defcriptions of later writers, who labour to fupport fome favourite theory concerning America, one might be led to compare this work of the Incas to the famous military ways which remain as monuments of the Roman power: But in a country where there was no tame animal except the Llama, which was never ufed for draught, and

† but

but little as a beaſt of burden, where the high roads were ſeldom trod by any but a human foot, no great degree of labour or art was requiſite in forming them. The Peruvian roads were only fifteen feet in breadth [t], and in many places ſo ſlightly formed, that time has effaced every veſtige of the courſe in which they ran. In the low country little more ſeems to have been done, than to plant trees or to fix poſts at certain intervals, in order to mark the proper route to travellers. To open a path through the mountainous country was a more arduous taſk. Eminences were levelled, and hollows filled up, and for the preſervation of the road it was fenced with a bank of turf. At proper diſtances, Tambos, or ſtorehouſes, were erected for the accommodation of the Inca and his attendants, in their progreſs through his dominions. From the manner in which the road was originally formed in this higher and more impervious region, it has proved more durable; and though, from the inattention of the Spaniards to every object but that of working their mines, nothing has been done towards keeping it in repair, its courſe may ſtill be traced [u]. Such was the celebrated road of the Incas; and even from this deſcription, diveſted of every circumſtance of manifeſt exaggeration, or of ſuſpicious aſpect, it muſt

[t] Cieca, c. 60.

[u] Xerez, p. 189. 191. Zarate, lib. i. c. 13, 14. Vega, lib. ix. c. 13. Boguer Voyage, p. 105. Ulloa Entretenemientos, p. 365.

 be

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be conſidered as a ſtriking proof of an extraordinary progreſs in improvement and policy. To the ſavage tribes of America, the idea of facilitating communication with places at a diſtance had never occurred. To the Mexicans it was hardly known. Even in the moſt civilized countries of Europe, men had advanced far in refinement, before it became a regular object of national police to form ſuch roads as render intercourſe commodious.

and bridges.

THE formation of thoſe roads introduced another improvement in Peru equally unknown over all the reſt of America. In its courſe from ſouth to north, the road of the Incas was interſected by all the torrents which roll from the Andes towards the Weſtern Ocean. From the rapidity of their courſe, as well as from the frequency and violence of their inundation, theſe were unnavigable. Some expedient, however, was to be found for paſſing them. The Peruvians, from their unacquaintance with the uſe of arches, and their inability to work in wood, could not conſtruct bridges either of ſtone or timber. But neceſſity, the parent of invention, ſuggeſted a device which ſupplied that defect. They formed cables of great ſtrength, by twiſting together ſome of the pliable withs or oſiers, with which their country abounds; ſix of which they ſtretched acroſs the ſtream parallel to one another, and made them faſt on each ſide. Theſe they bound firmly together by interweaving

ſmaller

ſmaller ropes ſo cloſe, as to form a compact piece of net-work, which being covered with branches of trees and earth, they paſſed along it with tolerable ſecurity [x]. Proper perſons were appointed to attend at each bridge, to keep it in repair, and to aſſiſt paſſengers [y]. In the level country, where the rivers became deep and broad and ſtill, they are paſſed in *Balzas*, or floats; in the conſtruction, as well as navigation of which, the ingenuity of the Peruvians appears to be far ſuperior to that of any people in America. Theſe had advanced no farther in naval ſkill than the uſe of the paddle, or oar; the Peruvians ventured to raiſe a maſt, and ſpread a ſail, by means of which their balzas not only went nimbly before the wind, but could veer and tack with great celerity [z].

Mode of refining ſilver ore.

Nor were the ingenuity and art of the Peruvians confined ſolely to objects of eſſential utility. They had made ſome progreſs in arts, which may be called elegant. They poſſeſſed the precious metals in greater abundance than any people of America. They obtained gold in the ſame manner with the Mexicans, by ſearching in the channels of rivers, or waſhing the earth in which particles of it were contained. But in order to procure ſilver, they exerted no inconſiderable degree of ſkill and

[x] See NOTE XXXVI.

[y] Sancho ap. Ram. iii. 376, B. Zarate, lib. i. c. 14. Vega, lib. iii. c. 7, 8. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 3, 4.

[z] Ulloa Voy. i. 167, &c.

invention.

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invention. They had not, indeed, attained the art of ſinking a ſhaft into the bowels of the earth, and penetrating to the riches concealed there; but they hollowed deep caverns on the banks of rivers and the ſides of mountains, and emptied ſuch veins as did not dip ſuddenly beyond their reach. In other places, where the vein lay near the ſurface, they dug pits to ſuch a depth, that the perſon who worked below could throw out the ore, or hand it up in baſkets [a]. They had diſcovered the art of ſmelting and refining this, either by the ſimple application of fire, or where the ore was more ſtubborn, and impregnated with foreign ſubſtances, by placing it in ſmall ovens or furnaces on high grounds, ſo artificially conſtructed, that the draught of air performed the function of a bellows, an engine with which they were totally unacquainted. By this ſimple device, the purer ores were ſmelted with facility, and the quantity of ſilver in Peru was ſo conſiderable, that many of the utenſils employed in the functions of common life were made of it [b]. Several of thoſe veſſels and trinkets are ſaid to have merited no ſmall degree of eſtimation, on account of the neatneſs of the workmanſhip, as well as the intrinſic value of the materials. But as the conquerors of America were well acquainted with the latter, but had ſcarcely any conception of the former, moſt of them were

[a] Ramuſio, iii. 414, A.

[b] Acoſta, lib. iv. c. 4, 5. Vega, p. 1. lib. viii. c. 25. Ulloa Entreten. 258.

melted down, and rated according to their weight and fineneſs in the diviſion of the ſpoil. BOOK VII.

Works of elegance.

In other works of mere curioſity or ornament, their ingenuity has been highly celebrated. Many ſpecimens of thoſe have been dug out of the *Guacas*, or mounds of earth, with which the Peruvians covered the bodies of the dead. Among theſe are mirrors of various dimenſions, of hard ſhining ſtones highly poliſhed; veſſels of earthen ware of different forms; hatchets, and other inſtruments, ſome deſtined for war, and others for labour. Some were of flint, ſome of copper, hardened to ſuch a degree by an unknown proceſs, as to ſupply the place of iron on ſeveral occaſions. Had the uſe of thoſe tools formed of copper been general, the progreſs of the Peruvians in the arts might have been ſuch, as to emulate that of more cultivated nations. But either the metal was ſo rare, or the operation by which it was hardened, ſo tedious, that their inſtruments of copper were few, and ſo extremely ſmall, that they ſeem to have been employed only in ſlighter works. But even to ſuch a circumſcribed uſe of this imperfect metal, the Peruvians were indebted for their ſuperiority to the other people of America in various arts [c]. The ſame obſervation, however, may be applied to them, which I formerly made with reſpect to the arts of the Mexicans. From ſeveral ſpecimens of

[c] Ulloa Voy. tom. i. 381, &c. Id. Entreten. p. 369, &c.

Peruvian

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Peruvian utenſils and ornaments, which are depoſited in the royal cabinet of Madrid, and from ſome preſerved in different collections in other parts of Europe, I have reaſon to believe that the workmanſhip is more to be admired on account of the rude tools with which it was executed, than on account of its intrinſic neatneſs and elegance; and that the Peruvians, though the moſt improved of all the Americans, were not advanced beyond the infancy of arts.

An imperfect civilization.

But notwithſtanding ſo many circumſtances, which ſeem to indicate an high degree of improvement in Peru, others occur that ſuggeſt the idea of a ſociety ſtill in the firſt ſtages of its tranſition from barbariſm to civilization. In all the dominions of the Incas, Cuzco was the only place that had the appearance, or was entitled to the name of a city. Every where elſe, the people lived moſtly in detached habitations, diſperſed over the country, or, at the utmoſt, ſettled together in ſmall villages[d]. But until men are brought to aſſemble in numerous bodies, and incorporated in ſuch cloſe union, as to enjoy frequent intercourſe, and to feel mutual dependence, they never imbibe perfectly the ſpirit, or aſſume the manners of ſocial life. In a country of immenſe extent, with only one city, the progreſs of manners, and the improvement either of the neceſſary or more refined

No cities but Cuzco.

[d] Zarate, lib. i. c. 9. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 4.

arts,

arts, muſt have been ſo ſlow, and carried on under ſuch diſadvantages, that it is more ſurpriſing the Peruvians ſhould have advanced ſo far in refinement, than that they did not proceed farther.

No perfect ſeparation of profeſſions.

In conſequence of this ſtate of imperfect union, the ſeparation of profeſſions in Peru was not ſo complete as among the Mexicans. The leſs cloſely men aſſociate, the more ſimple are their manners, and the fewer their wants. The crafts of common and moſt neceſſary uſe in life do not, in ſuch a ſtate, become ſo complex or difficult, as to render it requiſite that men ſhould be trained to them by any particular courſe of education. All thoſe profeſſions were accordingly exerciſed by every Peruvian indiſcriminately. None but the artiſts, employed in works of mere curioſity or ornament, conſtituted a ſeparate order of men, or were diſtinguiſhed from other citizens [e].

Little commercial intercourſe.

From the want of cities in Peru, another conſequence followed. There was little commercial intercourſe among the inhabitants of that great empire. The activity of commerce is coeval with the foundation of cities; and from the moment that the members of any community ſettle in conſiderable numbers in one place, its operations become vigorous. The citizen muſt depend for ſubſiſtence on the labour of thoſe who cultivate the

[e] Acoſta, lib. vi. c. 15. Vega, lib. v. c. 9. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 4.

ground.

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ground. They, in return, muſt receive ſome equivalent. Thus mutual intercourſe is eſtabliſhed, and the productions of art are regularly exchanged for the fruits of agriculture. In the towns of the Mexican empire, ſtated markets were held, and whatever could ſupply any want or deſire of man was an object of commerce. But in Peru, from the ſingular mode of dividing property, and the manner in which the people were ſettled, there was hardly any ſpecies of commerce carried on between different provinces [f], and the community was leſs acquainted with that active intercourſe, which is at once a bond of union, and an incentive to improvement.

Unwarlike ſpirit of the Peruvians.

But the unwarlike ſpirit of the Peruvians was the moſt remarkable, as well as moſt fatal defect in their character [g]. The greater part of the rude nations of America oppoſed their invaders with undaunted ferocity, though with little conduct or ſucceſs. The Mexicans maintained the ſtruggle in defence of their liberties, with ſuch perſevering fortitude, that it was with difficulty the Spaniards triumphed over them. Peru was ſubdued at once, and almoſt without reſiſtance; and the moſt favourable opportunities of regaining their freedom, and of cruſhing their oppreſſors, were loſt through the timidity of the people. Though the tradi-

[f] Vega, lib. vi. c. 8.

[g] Xerez, 190. Sancho ap. Ram. iii. 372. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. i. c. 3.

tional

tional hiſtory of the Peruvians repreſents all the Incas as warlike princes, frequently at the head of armies, which they led to victory and conqueſt; few ſymptoms of ſuch a martial ſpirit appear in any of their operations ſubſequent to the invaſion of the Spaniards. The influence, perhaps, of thoſe inſtitutions which rendered their manners gentle, gave their minds this unmanly ſoftneſs; perhaps, the conſtant ſerenity and mildneſs of the climate may have enervated the vigour of their frame; perhaps, ſome principle in their government, unknown to us, was the occaſion of this political debility. Whatever may have been the cauſe, the fact is certain, and there is not an inſtance in hiſtory of any people ſo little advanced in refinement, ſo totally deſtitute of military enterprize. This character hath deſcended to their poſterity. The Indians of Peru are now more tame and depreſſed than any people of America. Their feeble ſpirits, relaxed in lifeleſs inaction, ſeem hardly capable of any bold or manly exertion.

But, beſides thoſe capital defects in the political ſtate of Peru, ſome detached circumſtances and facts occur in the Spaniſh writers, which diſcover a conſiderable remainder of barbarity in their manners. A cruel cuſtom, that prevailed in ſome of the moſt ſavage tribes, ſubſiſted among the Peruvians. On the death of the Incas, and of other eminent perſons, a conſiderable number of their attendants was put to death, and interred around

their

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their Guacas, that they might appear in the next world with their former dignity, and be ſerved with the ſame reſpect. On the death of Huana-Capac, the moſt powerful of their monarchs, above a thouſand victims were doomed to accompany him to the tomb[h]. In one particular, their manners appear to have been more barbarous than thoſe of moſt rude tribes. Though acquainted with the uſe of fire in preparing maize, and other vegetables for food; they devoured both fleſh and fiſh perfectly raw, and aſtoniſhed the Spaniards, with a practice repugnant to the ideas of all civilized people[i].

Other dominions of Spain in America.

BUT though Mexico and Peru are the poſſeſſions of Spain in the New World, which, on account both of their antient and preſent ſtate, have attracted the greateſt attention; her other dominions there are far from being inconſiderable, either in extent or value. The greater part of them was reduced to ſubjection during the firſt part of the ſixteenth century, by private adventurers, who fitted out their ſmall armaments either in Hiſpaniola or in Old Spain; and were we to follow each leader in his progreſs, we ſhould diſcover the ſame daring courage, the ſame perſevering ardour, the ſame rapacious deſire of wealth, and the ſame capacity of enduring and ſurmounting every thing in order

[h] Acoſta, lib. v. c. 7.
[i] Xerez, p. 190. Sancho, Ram. iii. 372, C. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. i. c. 3.

to

to attain it, which diſtinguiſhed the operations of the Spaniards in their greater American conqueſts. But, inſtead of entering into a detail, which, from the ſimilarity of the tranſactions, would appear almoſt a repetition of what has been already related, I ſhall ſatisfy myſelf with ſuch a view of thoſe provinces of the Spaniſh empire in America, which have not hitherto been mentioned, as may convey to my readers an adequate idea of its greatneſs, fertility, and opulence.

A brief ſurvey of them.

I BEGIN with the countries contiguous to the two great monarchies, of whoſe hiſtory and inſtitutions I have given ſome account, and ſhall then briefly deſcribe the other diſtricts of Spaniſh America. The juriſdiction of the viceroy of New Spain extends over ſeveral provinces, which were not ſubject to the dominion of the Mexicans. The countries of Cinaloa and Sonora, that ſtretch along the eaſt ſide of the Vermilion ſea, or gulf of California, as well as the immenſe kingdoms of New Navarre and New Mexico, which bend towards the weſt and north, did not acknowledge the ſovereignty of Montezuma, or his predeceſſors. Theſe regions, not inferior in magnitude to all the Mexican empire, are reduced ſome to a greater, others to a leſs degree of ſubjection to the Spaniſh yoke. They extended through the moſt delightful part of the temperate zone; their ſoil is, in general, remarkably fertile, and all their productions, whether animal or vegetable, are moſt per-

Such as are adjacent to the empire of Mexico.

Cinaloa and Sonora, &c.

BOOK VII. fect in their kind. They have all a communication either with the Pacific Ocean, or with the Gulph of Mexico, and are watered by ſuch rivers as not only enrich them, but may become ſubſervient to commerce. The number of Spaniards ſettled in thoſe vaſt countries, is indeed extremely ſmall. They may be ſaid to have ſubdued, rather than to have occupied them. But if the population in their ancient eſtabliſhments in America ſhall continue to increaſe, they may gradually ſpread over thoſe provinces, of which, however inviting, they have not hitherto been able to take full poſſeſſion.

Rich mines. ONE circumſtance may contribute to the ſpeedy population of ſome diſtricts. Very rich mines both of gold and ſilver have been diſcovered in many of the regions which I have mentioned. Wherever theſe are opened, and worked with ſucceſs, a multitude of people reſort. In order to ſupply them with the neceſſaries of life, cultivation muſt be increaſed, artiſans of various kinds muſt aſſemble, and induſtry as well as wealth will be gradually diffuſed. Many examples of this have occured in different parts of America ſince they fell under the dominion of the Spaniards. Populous villages and large towns have ſuddenly ariſen amidſt uninhabited wilds and mountains; and the working of mines, though far from being the moſt proper object towards which the attention of an infant ſociety ſhould be turned, may become the

A recent and remarkable discovery.

the means both of promoting uſeful activity, and of augmenting the number of people. A recent and ſingular inſtance of this has happened, which, as it is but little known in Europe, and may be productive of great effects, merits attention. The Spaniards ſettled in the provinces of Cinaloa and Sonora, had been long diſturbed by the depredations of ſome fierce tribes of Indians. In the year 1765, the incurſions of thoſe ſavages became ſo frequent, and ſo deſtructive, that the Spaniſh inhabitants, in deſpair, applied to the Marquis de Croix, viceroy of Mexico, for ſuch a body of troops as might enable them to drive thoſe formidable invaders from their places of retreat in the mountains. But the treaſury of Mexico was ſo much exhauſted by the vaſt ſums drawn from it, in order to ſupport the late war againſt Great Britain, that the viceroy could afford them no aid. The reſpect due to his virtues, accompliſhed what his official power could not effect. He prevailed with the merchants to advance about two hundred thouſand peſos for defraying the expence of the expedition. The war was conducted by an officer of abilities; and after being protracted for three years, chiefly by the difficulty of purſuing the fugitives over mountains and through defiles which were almoſt impaſſable, it terminated, in the year 1771, in the final ſubmiſſion of the tribes, which had been ſo long the object of terror to the two provinces. In the courſe of this ſervice, the Spaniards marched through countries into which they

 ſeem

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ſeem not to have penetrated before that time, and diſcovered mines of ſuch value, as was aſtoniſhing even to men acquainted with the riches contained in the mountains of the New World. At Cineguilla, in the province of Sonora, they entered a plain of fourteen leagues in extent, in which they found gold in grains, at the depth of only ſixteen inches, of ſuch a ſize, that ſome of them weighed nine marks, and in ſuch quantities, that in a ſhort time, with a few labourers, they collected a thouſand marks of gold in grains, even without taking time to waſh the earth that had been dug, which appeared to be ſo rich, that perſons of ſkill computed that it might yield what would be equal in value to a million of peſos. Before the end of the year 1771, above two thouſand perſons were ſettled in Cineguilla, under the government of proper magiſtrates, and the inſpection of ſeveral eccleſiaſtics. As ſeveral other mines, not inferior in riches to that of Cineguilla, have been diſcovered, both in Sonora and Cinaloa[k], it is probable that theſe neglected and thinly inhabited provinces, may ſoon become as populous and valuable as any part of the Spaniſh empire in America.

Probable effects of this.

California, its ſtate,

THE peninſula of California, on the other ſide of the Vermilion ſea, ſeems to have been leſs known to the ancient Mexicans, than the provinces which I have mentioned. It was diſcovered by Cortes in

[k] See NOTE XXXVII.

the

the year 1536[l]. During a long period it continued to be ſo little frequented, that even its form was unknown, and in moſt charts it was repreſented as an iſland, not as a peninſula[m]. Though the climate of this country, if we may judge from its ſituation, muſt be very deſirable; the Spaniards have made ſmall progreſs in peopling it. Towards the cloſe of the laſt century, the Jeſuits, who had great merit in exploring this neglected province, and in civilizing its rude inhabitants, imperceptibly acquired a dominion over it as complete as that which they poſſeſſed in their miſſions in Paraguay, and they laboured to introduce into it the ſame policy, and to govern the natives by the ſame maxims. In order to prevent the court of Spain from conceiving any jealouſy of their deſigns and operations, they ſeem ſtudiouſly to have depreciated the country, by repreſenting the climate as ſo diſagreeable and unwholeſome, and the ſoil as ſo barren, that nothing but a zealous deſire of converting the natives, could have induced them to ſettle there[n]. Several public-ſpirited citizens endeavoured to undeceive their ſovereigns, and to give them a better view of California; but in vain. At length, on the expulſion of the Jeſuits from the Spaniſh dominions, the court of Madrid, as prone at that juncture to ſuſpect the purity of the Order's intentions, as formerly to confide in them with im-

and probability of its improving,

[l] Book v. vol. ii. [m] See NOTE XXXVIII.

[n] Venegas, Hiſt. of California, i. 26.

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plicit truſt, appointed Don Joſeph Galvez, whoſe abilities have ſince raiſed him to the high rank of miniſter for the Indies, to viſit that peninſula. His account of the country was favourable; he found the pearl fiſhery on its coaſts to be valuable, and diſcovered mines of gold of a very promiſing appearance [o]. From its vicinity to Cinaloa and Sonora, it is probable, that if the population of theſe provinces ſhall increaſe in the manner which I have ſuppoſed, California may, by degrees, receive from them ſuch a recruit of inhabitants, as to be no longer reckoned among the deſolate and uſeleſs diſtricts of the Spaniſh empire.

Yucatan and Honduras.

On the eaſt of Mexico, Yucatan and Honduras are comprehended in the government of New Spain, though anciently they can hardly be ſaid to have formed a part of the Mexican empire. Theſe large provinces, ſtretching from the Bay of Campeachy beyond Cape Gracias a Dios, do not, like the other territories of Spain in the New World, derive their value either from the fertility of their ſoil, or the richneſs of their mines; but they produce in greater abundance, than any part of America, the logwood tree, which, in dying ſome colours, is ſo far preferable to any other material, that the conſumption of it in Europe is conſiderable, and it has become an article in commerce of great value. During a long period, no European

[o] Lorenzano, 349, 350.

nation

nation intruded upon the Spaniards in thoſe provinces, or attempted to obtain any ſhare in this branch of trade. But after the conqueſt of Jamaica by the Engliſh, it ſoon appeared what a formidable rival was now ſeated in the neighbourhood of the Spaniſh territories. One of the firſt objects which tempted the Engliſh, was the great profit ariſing from the logwood trade, and the facility of wreſting ſome portion of it from the Spaniards. Some adventurers from Jamaica made the firſt attempt at Cape Catoche, the ſouth-eaſt promontory of Yucatan, and by cutting logwood there, carried on a gainful traffic. When moſt of the trees near the coaſt in that place were felled, they removed to the iſland of Triſt, in the Bay of Campeachy; and in later times, their principal ſtation has been in the Bay of Honduras. The Spaniards, alarmed at this encroachment, endeavoured by negociation, remonſtrances, and open force, to prevent the Engliſh from obtaining any footing on that part of the American continent. But after ſtruggling againſt it for more than a century, the diſaſters of laſt war extorted from the court of Madrid a reluctant conſent to tolerate this ſettlement of foreigners in the heart of its territories [p]. The pain which this humbling conceſſion occaſioned, ſeems to have prompted the Spaniards to deviſe a method of rendering it of little conſequence, more effectual than all the efforts of negociation or violence.

Their decline,

p Treaty of Paris, Art. xviii.

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lence. The logwood produced on the weſt coaſt of Yucatan, where the ſoil is drier, is in quality far ſuperior to that which grows on the marſhy grounds where the Engliſh are ſettled. By encouraging the cutting of this, and permitting the importation of it into Spain without paying any duty [q], ſuch vigour has been given to this branch of commerce, and the logwood which the Engliſh bring to market has ſunk ſo much in value, that their trade to the Bay of Honduras has gradually declined [r] ſince it obtained a legal ſanction; and, it is probable, will ſoon be finally abandoned. In that event, Yucatan and Honduras will become poſſeſſions of conſiderable importance to Spain.

and revival.

Coſta Rica and Veragua.

STILL farther eaſt than Honduras lie the two provinces of Coſta Rica and Veragua, which likewiſe belong to the vice-royalty of New Spain; but both have been ſo much neglected by the Spaniards, and are apparently of ſuch ſmall value, that they merit no particular attention.

Chili.

THE moſt important province depending on the vice-royalty of Peru, is Chili. The Incas had eſtabliſhed their dominion in ſome of its northern diſtricts; but in the greater part of the country, its gallant and high ſpirited inhabitants maintained their independence. The Spaniards, allured by the fame of its opulence, early attempted the con-

[q] Real Cedula, Campomanes, iii. 145.
[r] See NOTE XXXIX.

queſt of it under Diego Almagro; and after his death, Pedro de Valdivia reſumed the deſign. Both met with fierce oppoſition. The former relinquiſhed the enterprize in the manner which I have mentioned [a]. The latter, after having given many diſplays, both of courage and military ſkill, was cut off, together with a conſiderable body of troops under his command. Franciſco de Villagra, Valdivia's lieutenant, by his ſpirited conduct, checked the natives in their career, and ſaved the remainder of the Spaniards from deſtruction. By degrees, all the champaign country along the coaſt was ſubjected to the Spaniſh dominion. The mountainous country is ſtill poſſeſſed by the Puelches, Araucos, and other tribes of its original inhabitants, formidable neighbours to the Spaniards; with whom, during the courſe of two centuries, they have been obliged to maintain almoſt perpetual hoſtility, ſuſpended only by a few intervals of inſecure peace.

Excellence of its climate and ſoil.

THAT part of Chili then, which may properly be deemed a Spaniſh province, is a narrow diſtrict, extending along the coaſt from the deſert of Atacamas to the iſland of Chiloe, above nine hundred miles. Its climate is the moſt delicious in the New World, and is hardly equalled by that of any region on the face of the earth. Though bordering on the Torrid Zone, it never feels the extre-

[a] Book vi. p. 60, &c.

mity

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mity of heat, being ſcreened on the eaſt by the Andes, and refreſhed from the weſt by cooling ſea-breezes. The temperature of the air is ſo mild and equable, that the Spaniards give it the preference to that of the ſouthern provinces in their native country. The fertility of the ſoil correſponds with the benignity of the climate, and is wonderfully accommodated to European productions. The moſt valuable of theſe, corn, wine, and oil, abound in Chili, as if they had been native to the country. All the fruits imported from Europe attain to full maturity there. The animals of our hemiſphere not only multiply, but improve in this delightful region. The horned cattle are of larger ſize than thoſe of Spain. Its breed of horſes ſurpaſſes, both in beauty and in ſpirit, the famous Andaluſian race, from which they ſprung. Nor has nature exhauſted her bounty on the ſurface of the earth; ſhe has ſtored its bowels with riches. Valuable mines of gold, of ſilver, of copper, and of lead, have been diſcovered in various parts of it.

Cauſe of its being neglected by the Spaniards.

A COUNTRY diſtinguiſhed by ſo many bleſſings, we may be apt to conclude, would early become a favourite ſtation of the Spaniards, and muſt have been cultivated with peculiar predilection and care. Inſtead of this, a great part of it remains unoccupied. In all this extent of country, there are not above eighty thouſand white inhabitants, and about three times that number of negroes and people of a mixed

a mixed race. The moſt fertile ſoil in America lies uncultivated, and ſome of its moſt promiſing mines remain unwrought. Strange as this neglect of the Spaniards to avail themſelves of advantages, which ſeemed to court their acceptance, may appear, the cauſes of it can be traced. The only intercourſe of Spain with its colonies in the South Sea, was carried on during two centuries by the annual fleet to Porto-bello. All the produce of theſe colonies were ſhipped in the ports of Callao, or Arica in Peru, for Panama, and carried from thence acroſs the iſthmus. All the commodities which they received from the mother-country, were conveyed from Panama to the ſame harbours. Thus both the exports and imports of Chili paſſed through the hands of merchants ſettled in Peru. Theſe had of courſe a profit on each; and in both tranſactions the Chileſe felt their own ſubordination; and having no direct intercourſe with the parent ſtate, they depended upon another province for the diſpoſal of their productions, as well as for the ſupply of their wants. Under ſuch diſcouragements, population could not increaſe, and induſtry was deſtitute of one chief incitement. But now that Spain, from motives which I ſhall mention hereafter, has adopted a new ſyſtem, and carries on her commerce with the colonies in the South Sea, by ſhips which go round Cape Horn, a direct intercourſe is opened between Chili and the Mother country. The gold, the ſilver, and the other commodities of the province will be ex-

Proſpect of its improvement.

changed

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changed in its own harbours for the manufactures of Europe. Chili may ſpeedily riſe into that importance among the Spaniſh ſettlements to which it is entitled by its natural advantages. It may become the granary of Peru, and the other provinces along the Pacific Ocean; it may ſupply them with wine, with cattle, with horſes, with hemp, and many other articles for which they now depend upon Europe. Though the new ſyſtem has been eſtabliſhed only a few years, thoſe effects of it begin already to be obſerved [t]. If it ſhall be adhered to with any ſteadineſs for half a century, one may venture to foretel, that population, induſtry, and opulence will advance in this province with rapid progreſs.

Provinces of Tucuman and Rio de la Plata.

To the eaſt of the Andes, the provinces of Tucuman and Rio de la Plata, border on Chili, and like it were dependent on the Vice-royaly of Peru. Theſe regions of immenſe extent ſtretch in length from north to ſouth above thirteen hundred miles, and in breadth more than a thouſand. This country, which is larger than moſt European kingdoms, naturally forms itſelf into two great diviſions, one on the north, and the other on the ſouth of Rio de la Plata. The former comprehends Paraguay, the famous miſſions of the Jeſuits, and ſeveral other diſtricts. But as diſputes have long ſubſiſted between the courts of Spain and Portugal, concern-

Northern and ſouthern diviſion.

[t] Campomanes, ii. 157.

ing

ing its boundaries, which, it is probable, will be ſoon finally aſcertained, either amicably, or by the deciſion of the ſword, I chuſe to reſerve my account of this northern diviſion, until I enter upon the hiſtory of Portugueſe America, with which it is intimately connected; and, in relating it, I ſhall be able from authentic materials, ſupplied both by Spain and Portugal, to give a full and accurate deſcription of the operations and views of the Jeſuits, in rearing that ſingular fabric of policy in America, which has drawn ſo much attention, and has been ſo imperfectly underſtood. The latter diviſion of the province contains the governments of Tucuman and Buenos-Ayres, and to theſe I ſhall at preſent confine my obſervations.

View of the latter.

THE Spaniards entered this part of America by the river De la Plata; and though a ſucceſſion of cruel diſaſters befel them in their early attempts to eſtabliſh their dominion in it, they were encouraged to perſiſt in the deſign, at firſt by the hopes of diſcovering mines in the interior country, and afterwards by the neceſſity of occupying it, in order to prevent any other nation from ſettling there, and penetrating by this route into their rich poſſeſſions in Peru. But except Buenos-Ayres, they have made no ſettlement of any conſequence in all the vaſt ſpace which I have mentioned. There are, indeed, ſcattered over it, a few places on which they have beſtowed the name of towns, and to which they have endeavoured to add ſome dignity, by

by erecting them into bishoprics; but they are no better than paltry villages, each with two or three hundred inhabitants. One circumstance, however, which was not originally foreseen, has contributed to render this district, though thinly peopled, of considerable importance. The province of Tucuman, together with the country to the south of the Plata, instead of being covered with wood like other parts of America, forms one vast open plain, almost without a tree. The soil is a deep fertile mould, watered by many streams descending from the Andes, and clothed in perpetual verdure. In this rich pasturage, the horses and cattle imported by the Spaniards from Europe have multiplied to a degree which almost exceeds belief. This has enabled the inhabitants not only to open a lucrative trade with Peru, by supplying it with cattle, horses, and mules, but to carry on a commerce no less beneficial, by the exportation of hides to Europe. From both, the colony has derived great advantages. But its commodious situation for carrying on contraband trade, has been the chief source of its prosperity. While the court of Madrid adhered to its ancient system, with respect to its communication with America, the river De la Plata lay so much out of the course of Spanish navigation, that interlopers, almost without any risque of being either observed or obstructed, could pour in European manufactures in such quantities, that these not only supplied the wants of the colony, but were conveyed into all the

the eaftern diftricts of Peru. When the Portuguefe in Brafil extended their fettlements to the banks of Rio de la Plata, a new channel was opened, by which prohibited commodities flowed into the Spanifh territories, with ftill more facility, and in greater abundance. This illegal traffic, however detrimental to the parent ftate, contributed to the increafe of the fettlement, which had the immediate benefit of it, and Buenos-Ayres became gradually a populous and opulent town. What may be the effect of the alteration lately made in the government of this colony, the nature of which fhall be defcribed in the fubfequent Book, cannot hitherto be known.

Other territories of Spain.

ALL the other territories of Spain in the New World, the iflands excepted, of whofe difcovery and reduction I have formerly given an account, are comprehended under two great divifions; the former denominated the kingdom Tierra Firmé, the provinces of which ftretch along the Atlantic, from the eaftern frontier of New Spain to the mouth of the Orinoco; the latter, the New Kingdom of Granada, fituated in the interior country. With a fhort view of thefe I fhall clofe this part of my work.

Darien.

To the eaft of Veragua, the laft province fubject to the viceroy of Mexico, lies the ifthmus of Darien. Though it was in this part of the continent that the Spaniards firft began to plant colonies,

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lonies, they have made no conſiderable progreſs in peopling it. As the country is extremely mountainous, deluged with rain during a good part of the year, remarkably unhealthful, and contains no mines of great value, the Spaniards would probably have abandoned it altogether, if they had not been allured to continue by the excellence of the harbour of Porto-bello on the one ſea, and that of Panama on the other. Theſe have been called the keys to the communication between the north and ſouth ſea, between Spain and her moſt valuable colonies. In conſequence of this advantage, Panama has become a conſiderable and thriving town. The peculiar noxiouſneſs of its climate has prevented Porto-bello from increaſing in the ſame proportion. As the intercourſe with the ſettlements in the Pacific Ocean is now carried on by another channel, it is probable that both Porto-bello and Panama will decline, when no longer nouriſhed and enriched by that commerce to which they were indebted for their proſperity, and even their exiſtence.

Carthagena and Santa Martha.

THE provinces of Carthagena and Santa Martha ſtretch to the eaſtward of the iſthmus of Darien. The country ſtill continues mountainous, but its vallies begin to expand, are well watered, and extremely fertile. Pedro de Heredia ſubjected this part of America to the crown of Spain, about the year 1532. It is thinly peopled, and of courſe ill cultivated. It produces, however, a variety of valuable

valuable drugs, and ſome precious ſtones, particularly emeralds. But its chief importance is derived from the harbour of Carthagena, the ſafeſt and beſt fortified of any in the American dominions of Spain. In a ſituation ſo favourable, commerce ſoon began to flouriſh. As early as the year 1544, it ſeems to have been a town of ſome note. But when Carthagena was choſen as the port in which the galeons ſhould firſt begin to trade on their arrival from Europe, and to which they were directed to return, in order to prepare for their voyage homeward, the commerce of its inhabitants was ſo much favoured by this arrangement, that it ſoon became one of the moſt populous, opulent, and beautiful cities in America. There is, however, reaſon to apprehend, that it has reached its higheſt point of exaltation, and that it will be ſo far affected by the change in the Spaniſh ſyſtem of trade with America, which has withdrawn from it the deſirable viſits of the galeons, as to feel at leaſt a temporary decline. But the wealth now collected there, muſt find or create employment for itſelf, and may be turned with advantage into ſome new channel. Its harbour is ſo ſafe, and ſo conveniently ſituated for receiving commodities from Europe, its merchants have been ſo long accuſtomed to convey theſe into all the adjacent provinces, that it is probable they will ſtill retain this branch of trade, and Carthagena continue to be a city of great importance.

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Venezuela.

THE province contiguous to Santa Martha on the eaſt, was firſt viſited by Alonſo de Ojeda, in the year 1499 [u]; and the Spaniards, on their landing there, having obſerved ſome huts in an Indian village built upon piles, in order to raiſe them above the ſtagnated water which covered the plain, were led to beſtow upon it the name of Venezuela, or Little Venice, by their uſual propenſity to find a reſemblance, between what they diſcovered in America, and the objects which were familiar to them in Europe. They made ſome attempts to ſettle there, but with little ſucceſs. The final reduction of the province was accompliſhed by means very different from thoſe to which Spain was indebted for its other acquiſitions in the New World. The ambition of Charles V. often engaged him in operations of ſuch variety and extent, that his revenues were not ſufficient to defray the expence of carrying them into execution. Among other expedients for ſupplying the deficiency of his funds, he had borrowed large ſums from the Velſers of Augſburgh, the moſt opulent merchants at that time in Europe. By way of retribution for theſe, or in hopes, perhaps of obtaining a new loan, he beſtowed upon them the province of Venezuela, to be held as an hereditary fief of the crown of Caſtile, on condition that within a limited time they ſhould render themſelves maſters of the country, and eſtabliſh a co-

[u] Book ii. vol. i. p. 183.

lony there. Under the direction of ſuch perſons, it might have been expected, that a ſettlement would have been eſtabliſhed on maxims very different from thoſe of the Spaniards, and better calculated to encourage ſuch uſeful induſtry, as mercantile proprietors might have known to be the only certain ſource of proſperity and opulence. But unfortunately they committed the execution of their plan to ſome of thoſe ſoldiers of fortune with which Germany abounded in the ſixteenth century. Theſe adventurers, impatient to amaſs riches, that they might ſpeedily abandon a ſtation which they ſoon diſcovered to be very uncomfortable, inſtead of planting a colony in order to cultivate and improve the country, wandered from diſtrict to diſtrict in ſearch of mines, plundering the natives with unfeeling rapacity, or oppreſſing them by the impoſition of intolerable taſks. In the courſe of a few years, their avarice and exactions, in compariſon with which thoſe of the Spaniards were moderate, deſolated the province ſo completely, that it could hardly afford them ſubſiſtence, and the Velſers relinquiſhed a property, from which the inconſiderate conduct of their agents left them no hope of ever deriving any advantage [x]. When the wretched remainder of the Germans deſerted Venezuela, the Spaniards again took poſſeſſion of it; but, notwithſtanding many

[x] Civedo y Bagnos Hiſt. de Venezuela, p. 11, &c.

 natural

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natural advantages, it is one of their moſt languiſhing and unproductive ſettlements.

Caraccas and Cumana.

The provinces of Caraccas and Cumana are the laſt of the Spaniſh territories on this coaſt; but in relating the origin and operations of the mercantile company, in which an excluſive right of trade with them has been veſted, I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to conſider their ſtate and productions.

New kingdom of Granada.

The New Kingdom of Granada is entirely an inland country of vaſt extent. This important addition was made to the dominions of Spain about the year 1536, by Sebaſtian de Benalcazar and Gonzalo Ximenes de Queſada, two of the braveſt and moſt accompliſhed officers employed in the conqueſt of America. The former, who commanded at that time in Quito, attacked it from the ſouth; the latter made his invaſion from Santa Martha on the north. As the original inhabitants of this region were farther advanced in improvement, than any people in America but the Mexicans and Peruvians[y], they defended themſelves with great reſolution and good conduct. The abilities and perſeverance of Benalcazar and Queſada ſurmounted all oppoſition, though not without encountering many dangers, and reduced the country into the form of a Spaniſh province.

[y] Book iv. vol. ii. p. 141, &c.

THE

THE New Kingdom of Granada is ſo far elevated above the level of the ſea, that though it approaches almoſt to the equator, the climate is remarkably temperate. The fertility of its vallies is not inferior to that of the richeſt diſtricts in America, and its higher grounds yield gold and precious ſtones of various kinds. It is not by digging into the bowels of the earth that this gold is found; it is mingled with the ſoil near the ſurface, and ſeparated from it by repeated waſhing with water. This operation is carried on wholly by negroe ſlaves; for though the chill ſubterranean air has been diſcovered, by experience, to be ſo fatal to them, that they cannot be employed in the deep ſilver mines, they are more capable of performing the other ſpecies of labour than Indians. As the natives in the New Kingdom of Granada are exempt from that ſervice, which has waſted their race ſo rapidly in other parts of America, it is remarkably populous. Some diſtricts yield gold with a profuſion no leſs wonderful than that in the vale of Cineguilla, which I have formerly mentioned, and it is often found in large *pepitas*, or grains, which manifeſt the abundance in which it is produced. On a riſing ground near Pamplona, ſingle labourers have collected in a day what was equal in value to a thouſand peſos [z]. A late governor of Santa Fé brought with him to Spain a lump of virgin gold, eſtimated to be

[z] Piedrahita Hiſt. del N. Reyno, p. 481, MS. penes me.

BOOK VII. worth ſeven hundred and forty pounds ſterling. This, which is, perhaps, the largeſt and fineſt ſpecimen ever found in the New World, is now depoſited in the royal cabinet of Madrid. But without founding any calculation on what is rare and extraordinary, the value of the gold uſually collected in this country, particularly in the provinces of Popayan and Choco, is of conſiderable amount. Its towns are populous and flouriſhing. The number of inhabitants in almoſt every part of the country daily increaſes. Cultivation and induſtry of various kinds begin to be encouraged, and to proſper. A conſiderable trade is carried on with Carthagena, the produce of the mines, and other commodities, being conveyed down the great river of St. Magdalen to that city. On another quarter, the new Kingdom of Granada has a communication with the Atlantic by the river Orinoco; but the country which ſtretches along its banks towards the eaſt, is little known, and imperfectly occupied by the Spaniards.

THE
HISTORY
OF
AMERICA.

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AFTER tracing the progreſs of the Spaniards in their diſcoveries and conqueſts during more than half a century, I have conducted them to that period when their authority was eſtabliſhed over almoſt all the vaſt regions in the New World ſtill ſubject to their dominion. The effect of their ſettlements upon the countries of which they took poſſeſſion, the maxims which they adopted in forming their new colonies, the interior ſtructure and policy of theſe, together with the influence of their progreſſive improvement upon the parent ſtate, and upon the commercial intercourſe of nations, are the objects to which we now turn our attention.

View of the policy and trade of the Spaniſh colonies.

THE firſt viſible conſequence of the eſtabliſhments made by the Spaniards in America, was the diminution of the ancient inhabitants, to a degree

Depopulation of America the firſt effect of them.

 equally

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equally aſtoniſhing and deplorable. I have already, on different occaſions, mentioned the diſaſtrous influence under which the connection of the Americans with the people of our hemiſphere commenced, both in the iſlands, and in ſeveral parts of the continent, and have touched upon various cauſes of their rapid conſumption. Wherever the inhabitants of America had reſolution to take arms in defence of their liberty and rights, many periſhed in the unequal conteſt, and were cut off by their fierce invaders. But the greateſt deſolation was followed after the ſword was ſheathed, and the conquerors were ſettled in tranquillity. It was in the iſlands, and in thoſe provinces of the continent which ſtretch from the Gulf of Trinidad in the confines of Mexico, that the fatal effects of the Spaniſh dominion were firſt and moſt ſenſibly felt. All theſe were occupied either by wandering tribes of hunters, or by ſuch as had made but ſmall progreſs in cultivation and induſtry. When they were compelled by their new maſters to take up a fixed reſidence, and to apply to regular labour; when taſks were impoſed upon them diſproportioned to their ſtrength, and were exacted with unrelenting ſeverity, they poſſeſſed not vigour either of mind or of body to ſuſtain this unuſual load of oppreſſion. Dejection and deſpair drove many to end their lives by violence. Fatigue and famine deſtroyed more. In all thoſe extenſive regions, the original race of inhabitants waſted away; in ſome it was totally extinguiſhed. In

Cauſes of this in the iſlands and ſome parts of the continent.

3 Mexico,

Mexico, where a powerful and martial people diſtinguiſhed their oppoſition to the Spaniards by efforts of courage worthy of a better fate, great numbers fell in the field; and there, as well as in Peru, ſtill greater numbers periſhed under the hardſhips of attending the Spaniſh armies in their various expeditions and civil wars, worn out with the inceſſant toil of carrying their baggage, proviſions, and military ſtores.

In New Spain and Peru.

BUT neither the rage nor cruelty of the Spaniards were ſo deſtructive to the people of Mexico and Peru, as the inconſiderate policy with which they eſtabliſhed their new ſettlements. The former were temporary calamities, fatal to individuals; the latter was a permanent evil, which, with gradual conſumption, waſted the nation. When the provinces of Mexico and Peru were divided among the conquerors, each was eager to obtain a diſtrict, from which he might expect an inſtantaneous recompence for all his ſervices. Soldiers, accuſtomed to the carleſſneſs and diſſipation of a military life, had neither induſtry to carry on any plan of regular cultivation, nor patience to wait for its ſlow, but certain returns. Inſtead of ſettling in the vallies occupied by the natives, where the fertility of the ſoil would have amply rewarded the diligence of the planter, they choſe to fix their ſtations in ſome of the mountainous regions, frequent both in New Spain and in Peru. To ſearch for mines of gold and ſilver, was the chief object

of

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of their activity. The vast prospects which this opens, and the alluring hopes which it continually presents, correspond wonderfully with the spirit of enterprize and adventure that animated the first emigrants to America in every part of their conduct. In order to push forward those favourite projects, so many hands were wanted, that the service of the natives became indispensably requisite. They were, accordingly, compelled to abandon their ancient habitations in the plains, and driven in crowds to the mountains. This sudden transition from the sultry climate of the vallies, to the chill penetrating air peculiar to high lands in the torrid zone; the fatigue of exorbitant labour, scanty or unwholesome nourishment, and the despondency occasioned by a species of oppression to which they were not accustomed, and of which they saw no end, affected them nearly as much as their less industrious countrymen in the islands. They sunk under the united pressure of those calamities, and melted away with almost equal rapidity [z]. In consequence of this, together with the introduction of the small-pox, a malady unknown in America, and extremely fatal to the natives [a], the number of people both in Spain and Peru was so much reduced, that in a few years the accounts of their ancient population appeared almost incredible [b].

[z] Torquemada, i. 613. [a] B. Diaz, c. 124. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. x. c. 4. Ulloa Entreten. 206.

[b] Torquem. 615. 642, 643. See NOTE XL.

SUCH

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Not the result of any system of policy;

Such are the most considerable events and causes, which, by their combined operation, contributed to depopulate America. Without attending to these, many authors, astonished at the suddenness of the desolation, have ascribed this unexampled event to a system of policy no less profound than atrocious. The Spaniards, as they pretend, conscious of their own inability to occupy the vast regions which they had discovered, and foreseeing the impossibility of maintaining their authority over a people infinitely superior to themselves in number, in order to preserve America, resolved to exterminate the inhabitants, and by converting a great part of the country into a desert, endeavoured to secure their own dominion over it[c]. But nations seldom extend their views to objects so remote, or lay their plans so deep; and, for the honour of humanity, we may observe, that no nation ever deliberately formed such an execrable scheme. The Spanish monarchs, far from acting upon any such system of destruction, were uniformly solicitous for the preservation of their new subjects. With Isabella, zeal for propagating the christian faith, together with the desire of communicating the knowledge of truth, and the consolations of religion to people destitute of spiritual light, were more than ostensible motives for encouraging Columbus to attempt his discoveries. Upon his success, she endeavoured to fulfil her pious purpose,

[c] See NOTE XLI.

and

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and manifested the most tender concern to secure not only religious instruction, but mild treatment, to that inoffensive race of men subjected to her crown [d]. Her successors adopted the same ideas; and, on many occasions, which I have mentioned, their authority was interposed in the most vigorous exertions, to protect the people of America from the oppression of their Spanish subjects. Their regulations for this purpose were numerous, and often repeated. They were framed with wisdom, and dictated by humanity. After their possessions in the New World became so extensive, as might have excited some apprehensions of difficulty in retaining their dominion over them, the spirit of their regulations was as mild as when their settlements were confined to the islands alone. Their solicitude to protect the Indians seems rather to have augmented as their acquisitions increased; and from ardour to accomplish this, they enacted, and endeavoured to enforce the execution of laws, which excited a formidable rebellion in one of their colonies, and spread alarm and disaffection through all the rest. But the avarice of individuals was too violent to be controuled by the authority of laws. Rapacious and daring adventurers, far removed from the seat of government, little accustomed to the restraints of military discipline while in service, and still less disposed to respect the feeble jurisdiction of civil power in an infant

[d] See NOTE XLII.

colony,

colony, despised or eluded every regulation that set bounds to their exactions and tyranny. The parent state, with persevering attention, issued edicts to prevent the oppression of the Indians; the colonists, regardless of these, or trusting to their distance for impunity, continued to consider, and treat them as slaves. The governors themselves, and other officers employed in the colonies, several of whom were as indigent and rapacious as the adventurers over whom they presided, were too apt to adopt their contemptuous ideas of the conquered people; and, instead of checking, encouraged or connived at their excesses. The desolation of the New World should not then be charged on the court of Spain, or be considered as the effect of any system of policy adopted there. It ought to be imputed wholly to the conquerors and first planters of America, who, by measures no less inconsiderate than unjust, counteracted the edicts of their sovereign, and have brought disgrace upon their country.

Not the effect of religion.

WITH still greater injustice, have many authors represented the intolerating spirit of the Roman Catholic religion, as the cause of exterminating the Americans, and have accused the Spanish ecclesiastics of animating their countrymen to the slaughter of that innocent people, as idolators and enemies of God. But the first missionaries who visited America, though weak and illiterate, were pious men. They early espoused the defence of the natives, and vindicated their character from the aspersions of

their

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their conquerors, who, defcribing them as incapable of being formed to the offices of civil life, or of comprehending the doctrines of religion, contended, that they were a fubordinate race of men, on whom the hand of nature had fet the mark of fervitude. From the accounts which I have given of the humane and perfevering zeal of the Spanifh miffionaries, in protecting the helplefs flock committed to their charge, they appear in a light which reflects luftre upon their function. They were minifters of peace, who endeavoured to wreft the rod from the hands of oppreffors. To their powerful interpofition, the Americans were indebted for every regulation tending to mitigate the rigour of their fate. The clergy in the Spanifh fettlements, regular as well as fecular, were ftill confidered by the Indians as their natural guardians, to whom they have recourfe under the hardfhips and exactions to which they are too often expofed [c].

The number of the Indians ftill remaining.

But, notwithftanding the rapid depopulation of America, a very confiderable number of the native race ftill remains both in Mexico and Peru, efpecially in thofe parts which were not expofed to the firft fury of the Spanifh arms, or defolated by the firft efforts of their induftry, ftill more ruinous. In Guatimala, Chiapa, Nicaragua, and the other delightful provinces of the Mexican empire, which ftretch along the fouth-fea, the race of Indians is ftill numerous. Their fettlements in fome places

[c] See NOTE XLIII.

are

are ſo populous, as to merit the name of cities [f]. In the three audiences into which New Spain is divided, there are at leaſt two millions of Indians; a pitiful remnant, indeed, of its ancient population, but ſuch as ſtill forms a body of people ſuperior in number to that of all the other inhabitants of this vaſt country [g]. In Peru ſeveral diſtricts, particularly in the kingdom of Quito, are occupied almoſt entirely by Indians. In other provinces they are mingled with the Spaniards, and in many of their ſettlements practiſe the mechanic arts, and fill moſt of the inferior ſtations in ſociety. As the inhabitants both of Mexico and Peru were accuſtomed to a fixed reſidence, and to ſome degree of regular induſtry, leſs violence was requiſite in bringing them to ſome conformity with the European modes of civil life. But wherever the Spaniards ſettled among the ſavage tribes of America, their attempts to incorporate with them have been always fruitleſs, and often fatal to the natives. Impatient of reſtraint, and diſdaining labour as a mark of ſervility, they either abandoned their original ſeats, and ſought for independence in mountains and foreſts inacceſſible to their oppreſſors, or periſhed when reduced to a ſtate repugnant to their ancient ideas and habits. In the diſtricts adjacent to Carthagena, to Panama, and to Buenos-Ayres, the deſolation is more general than even in thoſe parts of Mexico and Peru,

[f] See NOTE XLIV. [g] See NOTE XLV.

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of which the Spaniards have taken most full possession.

General ideas of the policy of Spain in its colonies.

But the establishments of the Spaniards in the New World, though fatal to its ancient inhabitants, were made at a period when that monarchy was capable of forming them to best advantage. By the union of all its petty kingdoms, Spain was become a powerful state, equal to so great an undertaking. Its monarchs, having extended their prerogative far beyond the limits which once circumscribed the regal power in every kingdom of Europe, were hardly subject to controul, either in concerting or in executing their measures. In every wide extended empire, the form of government must be simple, and the sovereign authority such, that its resolutions may be taken with promptitude, and may pervade the whole with sufficient force. Such was the power of the Spanish monarchs, when they were called to deliberate concerning the mode of establishing their dominion over the most remote provinces, which had ever been subjected to any European state. In this deliberation, they felt themselves under no constitutional restraint, and that, as independent masters of their own resolves, they might issue the edicts requisite for modelling the government of the new colonies, by a mere act of prerogative.

This

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Early interposition of the regal authority.

THIS early interpoſition of the Spaniſh crown, in order to regulate the policy and trade of its colonies, is a peculiarity which diſtinguiſhes their progreſs from that of the colonies of any other European nation. When the Portugueſe, the Engliſh, and French, took poſſeſſion of the regions in America which they now occupy, the advantages which theſe promiſed to yield were ſo remote and uncertain, that their colonies were ſuffered to ſtruggle through a hard infancy, almoſt without guidance or protection from the parent ſtate. But gold and ſilver, the firſt productions of the Spaniſh ſettlements in the New World, were more alluring, and immediately attracted the attention of their monarchs. Though they had contributed little to the diſcovery, and almoſt nothing to the conqueſt of the New World, they inſtantly aſſumed the function of its legiſlators; and having acquired a ſpecies of dominion formerly unknown, they formed a plan for exerciſing it, to which nothing ſimilar occurs in the hiſtory of human affairs.

All power and property veſted in the crown.

THE fundamental maxim of Spaniſh juriſprudence with reſpect to America, is to conſider what has been acquired there as veſted in the crown, rather than in the ſtate. By the bull of Alexander VI. on which, as its great charter, Spain founded its right, all the regions that had been, or ſhould be diſcovered, were beſtowed as a free gift upon Ferdinand and Iſabella. They and their

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ſucceſſors were uniformly held to be the univerſal proprietors of the vaſt territories, which the arms of their ſubjects conquered in the New World. From them, all grants of land there flowed, and to them they finally returned. The leaders who conducted the various expeditions, the governors who preſided over the different colonies, the officers of juſtice, and the miniſters of religion, were all appointed by their authority, and removable at their pleaſure. The people who compoſed infant ſettlements were intitled to no privileges independent of the ſovereign, or that ſerved as a barrier againſt the power of the crown. It is true, that when towns were built, and formed into bodies corporate, the citizens were permitted to elect their own magiſtrates, who governed them by laws which the community enacted. Even in the moſt deſpotic ſtates, this feeble ſpark of liberty is not extinguiſhed. But in the cities of Spaniſh America, this juriſdiction is merely municipal, and is confined to the regulation of their own interior commerce and police. In whatever relates to public government, and the general intereſt, the will of the ſovereign is law. No political power originates from the people. All centres in the crown, and in the officers of its nomination.

All the new dominions of Spain ſubjected to two viceroys.

WHEN the conqueſts of the Spaniards in America were completed, their monarchs, in forming the plan of interior policy for their new dominions, divided them into two immenſe governments, one

ſubject

ſubject to the viceroy of New Spain, the other to the viceroy of Peru. The juriſdiction of the former extended over all the provinces belonging to Spain in the northern diviſion of the American continent. Under that of the latter, was comprehended whatever ſhe poſſeſſed in South America. This arrangement, which, from the beginning, was attended with many inconveniencies, became intolerable when the remote provinces of each viceroyalty began to improve in induſtry and population. The people complained of their ſubjection to a ſuperior, whoſe place of reſidence was ſo diſtant, or ſo inacceſſible, as almoſt excluded them from any intercourſe with the ſeat of government. The authority of the viceroy over diſtricts ſo far removed from his own eye and obſervation, was unavoidably both feeble and ill directed. As a remedy for thoſe evils, a third viceroyalty has been eſtabliſhed in the preſent century, at Santa Fé de Bogota, the capital of the new kingdom of Granada, the juriſdiction of which extends over the whole kingdom of Tierra Firmè, and the province of Quito[h]. Thoſe viceroys not only repreſent the perſon of their ſovereign, but poſſeſs his regal prerogatives within the precincts of their own governments, in their utmoſt extent. Like him, they exerciſe ſupreme authority in every department of government, civil, military, and criminal. They have the ſole right of nominating

Their powers.

[h] Voy. de Ulloa, i. 23. 255.

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the persons who hold many offices of the highest importance, and the occasional privilege of supplying such as are in the royal gift, until the successor appointed by the king shall arrive. The external pomp of their government is suited to its real dignity and power. Their courts are formed upon the model of that at Madrid, with horse and foot guards, a household regularly established, numerous attendants, and ensigns of command, displaying such magnificence, as hardly retains the appearance of delegated authority[i].

Courts of Audience.

But as the viceroys cannot discharge in person the functions of a supreme magistrate in every part of their extensive jurisdiction, they are aided in their government by officers and tribunals similar to those in Spain. The conduct of civil affairs in the various provinces and districts, into which the Spanish dominions in America are divided, is committed to magistrates of various orders and denominations; some appointed by the king, others by the viceroy, but all subject to the command of the latter, and amenable to his jurisdiction. The administration of justice is vested in tribunals, known by the name of *Audiences*, and formed upon the model of the court of Chancery in Spain. These are eleven in number, and dispense justice to as many districts, into which the Spanish dominions in America are divided[k]. The number of

[i] Ulloa, Voy. i. 432. Gage 61.
[k] See NOTE XLVI.

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of judges in the court of Audience is various, according to the extent and importance of their jurisdiction. The station is no less honourable than lucrative, and is commonly filled by persons of such abilities and merit as renders this tribunal extremely respectable. Both civil and criminal causes come under their cognizance, and for each peculiar judges are set apart. Though it is only in the most despotic governments, that the sovereign exercises in person the formidable prerogative of administering justice to his subjects, and in absolving, or condemning, consults no law but what is deposited in his own breast; though, in all the monarchies of Europe, judicial authority is committed to magistrates, whose decisions are regulated by known laws and established forms, the Spanish viceroys have often attempted to intrude themselves into the seat of justice, and, with an ambition which their distance from the controul of a superior rendered bold, have aspired at a power which their master does not venture to assume. In order to check an usurpation which must have annihilated justice and security in the Spanish colonies, by subjecting the lives and property of all to the will of a single man, the viceroys have been prohibited, in the most explicit terms, by repeated laws, from interfering in the judicial proceedings of the courts of Audience, or from delivering an opinion, or giving a voice with respect to any point litigated before them[1]. In

Their jurisdiction.

[1] Recop. lib. ii. tit. xv. l. 35. 38. 44. lib. iii. tit. iii. l. 36, 37.

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ſome particular caſes, in which any queſtion of civil right is involved, even the political regulations of the viceroy may be brought under the review of the court of Audience, which, in thoſe inſtances, may be deemed an intermediate power placed between him and the people, as a conſtitutional barrier to circumſcribe his juriſdiction. But as legal reſtraints on a perſon who repreſents the ſovereign, and is clothed with his authority, are little ſuited to the genius of Spaniſh policy; the heſitation and reſerve with which it confers this power on the courts of Audience, are remarkable. They may adviſe, they may remonſtrate; but, in the event of a direct colliſion between their opinion and the will of the viceroy, what he determines muſt be carried into execution, and nothing remains for them, but to lay the matter before the king and the council of the Indies [m]. But to be intitled to remonſtrate, and inform againſt a perſon, before whom all others muſt be ſilent, and tamely ſubmit to his decrees, is a privilege which adds dignity to the courts of Audience. This is farther augmented by another circumſtance. Upon the death of a viceroy, without any proviſion of a ſucceſſor by the king, the ſupreme power is veſted in the court of Audience reſident in the capital of the viceroyalty, and the ſenior judge, aſſiſted by his brethren, exerciſes all the functions of the vice-

[m] Solorz, de Jure Ind. lib. iv. c. 3. n. 40, 41. Recop. lib. ii. tit. xv. l. 36. lib. iii. tit. iii. l. 34. lib. v. tit. ix. l. 1.

roy

roy while the office continues vacant [n]. In matters which come under the cognizance of the Audiences, in the courſe of their ordinary juriſdiction, as courts of juſtice, their ſentences are final in every litigation concerning property of leſs value than ſix thouſand peſos; but when the ſubject in diſpute exceeds that ſum, their deciſions are ſubject to review, and may be carried by appeal before the royal council of the Indies [o].

Council of the Indies.

In this council, one of the moſt conſiderable in the monarchy for dignity and power, is veſted the ſupreme government of all the Spaniſh dominions in America. It was firſt eſtabliſhed by Ferdinand, in the year 1511, and brought into a more perfect form by Charles V. in the year 1524. Its juriſdiction extends to every department, eccleſiaſtical, civil, military, and commercial. All laws and ordinances relative to the government and police of the colonies originate there, and muſt be approved of by two-thirds of the members, before they are iſſued in the name of the king. All the offices, of which the nomination is reſerved to the crown, are conferred in this council. To it each perſon employed in America, from the viceroy downwards, is accountable. It reviews their conduct, rewards their ſervices, and inflicts the puniſhments due to their malverſations [p]. Before it,

Its power.

[n] Recop. lib. ii. tit. xv. l. 57, &c.
[o] Recop. lib. v. tit. xiii. l. 1, &c.
[p] Recop. lib. ii. tit. ii. l. 1, 2, &c.

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is laid whatever intelligence, either public or secret, is received from America, and every scheme of improving the administration, the police, or the commerce of the colonies, is submitted to its consideration. From the first institution of the council of the Indies, it has been the constant object of the catholic monarchs to maintain its authority, and to make such additions from time to time, both to its power and its splendor, as might render it formidable to all their subjects in the New World. Whatever degree of public order and virtue still remains in that country, where so many circumstances conspire to relax the former, and to corrupt the latter, may be ascribed in a great measure to the wise regulations and vigilant inspection of this respectable tribunal [q].

Casa de Contratacion.

As the king is supposed to be always present in his council of the Indies, its meetings are held in the place where he resides. Another tribunal has been instituted, in order to regulate such commercial affairs as required the immediate and personal inspection of those appointed to superintend them. This is called *Casa de la Contratacion*, or the house of trade, and was established in Seville, to whose port commerce with the New World was confined, as early as the year 1501. It may be considered both as a board of trade, and as a court of judicature. In the former capacity, it takes

Its functions.

[q] Solorz. de Jure Ind. lib. iv. l. 12.

cognizance

cognizance of whatever relates to the intercourſe of Spain with America, it regulates what commodities ſhould be exported thither, and has the inſpection of ſuch as are received in return. It decides concerning the departure of the fleets for the Weſt Indies, the freight and burden of the ſhips, their equipment and deſtination. In the latter capacity, it judges with reſpect to every queſtion, civil, commercial, or criminal, ariſing in conſequence of the tranſactions of Spain with America; and in both theſe departments, its deciſions are exempted from the review of any court but that of the council of the Indies [r].

SUCH is the great outline of that ſyſtem of government, which Spain has eſtabliſhed in her American colonies. To enumerate the various ſubordinate boards and officers employed in the adminiſtration of juſtice, in collecting the public revenue, and in regulating the interior police of the country; to deſcribe their different functions, and to enquire into the mode and effect of their operations; would prove a detail no leſs intricate than minute and unintereſting.

First object, to ſecure an excluſive trade.

THE firſt object of the Spaniſh monarchs was to ſecure the productions of the colonies to the parent ſtate, by an abſolute prohibition of any intercourſe with foreign nations. They took poſſeſſion of

[r] Recop. lib. ix. tit. i. Veitia Norte la Contratacion, lib. i. c. 1.

America

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America by right of conqueſt, and, conſcious not only of the feebleneſs of their infant ſettlements, but aware of the difficulty in eſtabliſhing their dominion over ſuch vaſt regions, or in retaining ſo many reluctant nations under the yoke, they dreaded the intruſion of ſtrangers; they even ſhunned their inſpection, and endeavoured to keep them at a diſtance from their coaſts. This ſpirit of jealouſy and excluſion, which at firſt was natural, and perhaps neceſſary, augmented as their poſſeſſions in America extended, and the value of them came to be more fully underſtood. In conſequence of it, a ſyſtem of colonizing was introduced, to which there had hitherto been nothing ſimilar among mankind. In the ancient world, it was not uncommon to ſend forth colonies. But they were of two kinds only. They were either migrations, which ſerved to diſburden a ſtate of its ſuperfluous ſubjects, when they multiplied too faſt for the territory which they occupied: or they were military detachments ſtationed, as garriſons, in a conquered province. The colonies of ſome Greek republics, and the ſwarms of northern barbarians which ſettled in different parts of Europe, were of the firſt ſpecies. The Roman colonies were of the ſecond. In the former, the connection with the mother-country quickly ceaſed, and they became independent ſtates. In the latter, as the disjunction was not complete, the dependence continued. In their American ſettlements, the Spaniſh monarchs took what was peculiar to each, and ſtudied to unite them. By

Regulations for that purpoſe.

ſending colonies to regions ſo remote, by eſtabliſhing in each a form of interior policy and adminiſtration, under diſtinct governors, and with peculiar laws, they disjoined them from the mother-country. By retaining in their own hands the rights of legiſlation, as well as that of impoſing taxes, together with the power of nominating the perſons who filled every department, civil or military, they ſecured their dependence. Happily for Spain, the ſituation of her colonies was ſuch, as rendered it poſſible to reduce this new idea into practice. Almoſt all the countries which ſhe had diſcovered and occupied, lay within the tropics. The productions of that large portion of that globe are different from thoſe of Europe, even in its moſt ſouthern provinces. The qualities of the climate and of the ſoil naturally turn the induſtry of ſuch as ſettle there into new channels. When the Spaniards firſt took poſſeſſion of their domains in America, the precious metals which they yielded, were the only object that attracted their attention. Even when their efforts began to take a better direction, they employed themſelves almoſt wholly in rearing ſuch peculiar productions of the climate, as, from their rarity or value, were of chief demand in the mother-country. Allured by vaſt proſpects of immediate wealth, they diſdained to waſte their induſtry on what was leſs lucrative, but of ſuperior moment. In order to render it impoſſible to correct this error, and to prevent them from making any efforts in induſtry which might interfere with

thoſe

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those of the mother-country, the establishment of several species of manufactures, and even the culture of the vine, or olive, are prohibited in the Spanish colonies [s], under severe penalties [t]. They must trust entirely to the mother-country for the objects of primary necessity. Their clothes, their furniture, their instruments of labour, their luxuries, and even a considerable part of the provisions which they consume, were imported from Spain. During a great part of the sixteenth century, Spain, possessing an extensive commerce and flourishing manufactures, could supply with ease the growing demands of her colonies, from her own stores. The produce of their mines and plantations was given in exchange for these. But all that the colonies received, as well as all that they gave, was conveyed in Spanish bottoms. No vessel belonging to the colonies was ever permitted to carry the commodities of America to Europe. Even the commercial intercourse of one colony with another, was either absolutely prohibited, or limited by many jealous restrictions. All that America yields flows into the ports of Spain; all that it consumes must issue from them. No foreigner can enter its colonies without express permission; no vessel of any foreign nation is received into their harbours; and the pains of death, with confiscation of moveables, are denounced against every inhabitant who

[s] See NOTE XLVII.

[t] B. Ulloa Retab. des Manuf. &c. p. 206.

presumes

presumes to trade with them [u]. Thus the colonies are kept in a ſtate of perpetual pupillage; and by the introduction of this commercial dependence, a refinement in policy of which Spain ſet the firſt example to the European nations, the ſupremacy of the parent ſtate hath been maintained over remote colonies during two centuries and a half.

Slow progreſs of population from Europe.

SUCH are the capital maxims to which the Spaniſh monarchs ſeem to have attended in forming their new ſettlements in America. But they could not plant with the ſame rapidity that they had deſtroyed; and, from many concurring cauſes, their progreſs was extremely ſlow, in filling up the immenſe void which their devaſtations had occaſioned. As ſoon as the rage for diſcovery and adventure began to abate, the Spaniards opened their eyes to dangers and diſtreſſes, which at firſt they did not perceive, or had deſpiſed. The numerous hardſhips with which the members of infant colonies have to ſtruggle, the diſeaſes of unwholeſome climates, fatal to the conſtitution of Europeans; the difficulty of bringing a country, covered with foreſts, into culture; the want of hands neceſſary for labour in ſome provinces, and the ſlow reward of induſtry in all, unleſs where the accidental diſcovery of mines enriched a few fortunate adventurers, were evils univerſally felt and magnified. Diſcouraged by the view of theſe, the ſpirit of migration was ſo

[u] Recopil. lib. ix. tit. xxvii. l. 1. 4. 7, &c.

much

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much damped, that sixty years after the discovery of the New World, the number of Spaniards in all its provinces is computed not to have exceeded fifteen thousand [x].

Discouraged by the state of property.

THE mode in which property was distributed in the Spanish colonies, and the regulations established with respect to the transmission of it, whether by descent or by sale, were extremely unfavourable to population. In order to promote a rapid increase of people in any new settlement, property in land ought to be divided into small shares, and the alienation of it should be rendered extremely easy [y]. But the rapaciousness of the Spanish conquerors of the New World paid no regard to this fundamental maxim of policy; and, as they possessed power, which enabled them to gratify the utmost extravagance of their wishes, many seized districts and provinces of vast extent, and held them as *encomiendas*. By degrees they obtained the privilege of converting a part of these into *Mayorasgos*, a species of fief, introduced into the Spanish system of feudal jurisprudence [z], which can neither be divided nor alienated. Thus a great portion of landed property, under this rigid form of entail, is withheld from circulation, and descends from father to son unimproved, and of little value either to the proprietor or to the community. In the account which I have given of

[x] See NOTE XLVIII. [y] Dr. Smith's Inquiry, ii. 166.
[z] Recop. lib. iv. tit. iii. l. 24.

the

the reduction of Peru, various examples occur of enormous tracts of country occupied by ſome of the conquerors [a]. The exceſſes in other provinces were ſimilar, for as the value of the lands which they acquired, was originally eſtimated according to the number of Indians which lived upon them, America was in general ſo thinly peopled, that only diſtricts of great extent could afford ſuch a number of labourers as might be employed in the mines with any proſpect of conſiderable gain. The pernicious effects of thoſe radical errors in the diſtribution and nature of property in the Spaniſh ſettlements, are felt through every department of induſtry, and may be conſidered as one great cauſe of a progreſs of population ſo much ſlower than that which has taken place in better conſtituted colonies [b].

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To this we may add, that the ſupport of the enormous and expenſive fabric of their eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, has been a burden on the Spaniſh colonies, which has greatly retarded the progreſs of population and induſtry. The payment of tythes is a heavy tax on induſtry; and if the exaction of them be not regulated and circumſcribed by the wiſdom of the civil magiſtrate, it becomes intolerable and ruinous. But, inſtead of any reſtraint on the claims of eccleſiaſtics, the inconſiderate zeal of the Spaniſh legiſlators admitted them

and the nature of their eccleſiaſtical policy.

[a] Book vi. p. 139. [b] See NOTE XLIX.

into

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into America in their full extent, and at once impofed on their infant colonies a burden which is in no flight degree oppreffive to fociety, even in its moft improved ftate. As early as the year 1501, the payment of tythes in the colonies was enjoined, and the mode of it regulated by law. Every article of primary neceffity, towards which the attention of new fettlers muft naturally be turned, is fubjected to that grievous exaction [c]. Nor were the demands of the clergy confined to articles of fimple culture. Its more artificial and operofe productions, fuch as fugar, indigo, and cochineal, were foon declared to be tythable [d]; and thus the induftry of the planter was taxed in every ftage of its progrefs, from its rudeft effay to its higheft improvement. To the weight of this legal impofition, the bigotry of the American Spaniards has made many voluntary additions. From their fond delight in the external pomp and parade of religion, and from fuperftitious reverence for ecclefiaftics of every denomination, they have beftowed profufe donatives on churches and monafteries, and have unprofitably wafted a lage proportion of that wealth, which might have nourifhed and given vigour to productive labour in growing colonies.

Various orders of people in the colonies.

But fo fertile and inviting are the regions of America which the Spaniards have occupied, that, notwithftanding all the circumftances which

[c] Recop. lib. i. tit. xiv. l. 2.

[d] Recop. lib. i. tit. xiv. l. 3 and 4.

5 have

have checked and retarded population, it has gradually increaſed, and filled the colonies of Spain with citizens of various orders. Among theſe, the Spaniards, who arrive from Europe, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Chapetones*, are the firſt in rank and power. From the jealous attention of the Spaniſh court to ſecure the dependence of the colonies, all departments of conſequence are filled by perſons ſent from Europe; and, in order to prevent any of dubious fidelity from being employed, each muſt bring proof of a clear deſcent from a family of *Old Chriſtians*, untainted with any mixture of Jewiſh or Mahometan blood, and never diſgraced by any cenſure of the inquiſition [e]. In ſuch pure hands, power is deemed to be ſafely lodged, and almoſt every public function, from the viceroyalty downwards, is committed to them alone. Every perſon, who by his birth, or reſidence in America, may be ſuſpected of any attachment or intereſt adverſe to the mother-country, is the object of diſtruſt to ſuch a degree, as amounts nearly to an excluſion from all offices of confidence or authority [f]. By this conſpicuous predilection of the court, the Chapetones are raiſed to ſuch pre-eminence in America, that they look down with diſdain on every other order of men.

Chapetones the firſt.

THE character and ſtate of the *Creoles*, or deſcendants of Europeans ſettled in America, the

Creoles the ſecond.

[e] Recopil. lib. ix. tit. xxvi. l. 15, 16.

[f] See NOTE L.

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second class of subjects in the Spanish colonies, have enabled the Chapetones to acquire other advantages, hardly less considerable than those which they derive from the partial favour of government. Though some of the Creolian race are descended from the conquerors of the New World; though others can trace up their pedigree to the noblest families in Spain; though many are possessed of ample fortunes, yet, by the enervating influence of a sultry climate, by the rigour of a jealous government, and by their despair of attaining that distinction to which mankind naturally aspire, the vigour of their minds is so entirely broken, that a great part of them waste life in luxurious indulgencies, mingled with an illiberal superstition still more debasing. Languid and uninterprising, the operations of an active extended commerce would be to them so cumbersome and oppressive, that in almost every part of America they decline engaging in it. The interior traffic of every colony, as well as its trade with the neighbouring provinces, and with Spain itself, are carried on chiefly by the Chapetones [g]; who, as the recompence of their industry, amass immense wealth, while the Creoles, sunk in sloth, are satisfied with the revenues of their paternal estates.

Rivalship between these.

FROM this stated competition for power and wealth between those two orders of citizens, and

[g] Voy. de Ulloa, i. 27. 251. Voy. de Frezier, 227.

the

the various paſſions excited by a rivalſhip ſo intereſting, their hatred is violent and implacable. On every occaſion, ſymptoms of this averſion break out, and the common appellations which each beſtows on the other, are as contemptuous as thoſe which flow from the moſt deep-rooted national antipathy [h]. The court of Spain, from a refinement of diſtruſtful policy, cheriſhes thoſe ſeeds of diſcord, and foments this mutual jealouſy, which not only prevents the two moſt powerful claſſes of its ſubjects in the New World from combining againſt the parent ſtate, but prompts each, with the moſt vigilant zeal, to obſerve the motions and to counteract the ſchemes of the other.

A mixed race forms the third order of citizens.

THE third claſs of inhabitants in the Spaniſh colonies is a mixed race, the offspring either of an European and a negro, or of an European and Indian, the former called *Mulattoes*, the latter *Meſtizos*. As the court of Spain, ſolicitous to incorporate its new vaſſals with its ancient ſubjects, early encouraged the Spaniards ſettled in America to marry the natives of that country, ſeveral alliances of this kind were formed in their infant colonies [i]. But it has been more owing to licentious indulgence, than to compliance with this injunction of their ſovereigns, that this mixed breed has

[h] Gage's Survey, p. 9. Frezier, 226.

[i] Recopil. lib. vi. tit. i. l. 2. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. v. c. 12. Dec. 3. lib. vii. c. 2.

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multiplied ſo greatly, as to conſtitute a conſiderable part of the population in all the Spaniſh ſettlements. The ſeveral ſtages of deſcent in this race, and the gradual variations of ſhade until the African black, or the copper colour of America, brighten into an European complexion, are accurately marked by the Spaniards, and each diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar name. Thoſe of the firſt and ſecond generations are conſidered, and treated as Indians and Negroes; but in the third deſcent, the characteriſtic hue of the former diſappears; and in the fifth, the deeper tint of the latter is ſo entirely effaced, that they can no longer be diſtinguiſhed from Europeans, and become entitled to all their privileges [k]. It is chiefly by this mixed race, whoſe frame is remarkably robuſt and hardy, that the mechanic arts are carried on, and other active functions in ſociety are diſcharged, which the two higher claſſes of citizens, from pride, or from indolence, diſdain to exerciſe [l].

Negroes form the fourth order.

THE negroes hold the fourth rank among the inhabitants of the Spaniſh colonies. The introduction of that unhappy part of the human ſpecies into America, together with their ſervices and ſufferings there, ſhall be fully explained in another place; here they are mentioned chiefly, in order to point out a peculiarity in their ſituation under

[k] Voy. de Ulloa, i. p. 27.

[l] Voy. de Ulloa, i. 29. Voy. de Bouguer, p. 104. Melendez, Teſoros Verdaderos, i. 354.

the Spaniſh dominion. In ſeveral of their ſettlements, particularly in New Spain, negroes are chiefly employed in domeſtic ſervice. They form a principal part in the train of luxury, and are cheriſhed and careſſed by their ſuperiors, to whoſe vanity and pleaſures they are equally ſubſervient. Their dreſs and appearance are hardly leſs ſplendid than that of their maſters, whoſe manners they imitate, and whoſe paſſions they imbibe[m]. Elevated by this diſtinction, they have aſſumed ſuch a tone of ſuperiority over the Indians, and treat them with ſuch inſolence and ſcorn, that the antipathy between the two races has become implacable. Even in Peru, where negroes ſeem to be more numerous, and are employed in field-work as well as domeſtic ſervice, they maintain their aſcendant over the Indians, and the mutual hatred of one to the other ſubſiſts with equal violence. The laws have induſtriouſly fomented this averſion, to which accident gave riſe, and, by moſt rigorous injunctions, have endeavoured to prevent every intercourſe that might form a bond of union between the two races. Thus, by an artful policy, the Spaniards derive ſtrength from that circumſtance in population which is the weakneſs of other European colonies, and have ſecured as aſſociates and defenders, thoſe very perſons who elſewhere are objects of jealouſy and terror[n].

[m] Gage, p. 56. Voy. de Ulloa, i. 451.

[n] Recopil. lib. vii. tit. v. l. 7. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. vii. c. 12. Frezier, 244.

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The Indians form the laſt order of citizens.

The Indians form the laſt, and the moſt depreſſed order of men in the country, which belonged to their anceſtors. I have already traced the progreſs of the Spaniſh ideas with reſpect to the condition and treatment of that people, and have mentioned the moſt important of their more early regulations, concerning a matter of ſo much conſequence in the adminiſtration of their new dominions. But ſince the period to which I have brought down the hiſtory of America, the information and experience acquired during two centuries, have enabled the court of Spain to make ſuch improvements in this part of its American ſyſtem, that a ſhort view of the preſent condition of the Indians may prove both curious and intereſting.

Their preſent condition.

By the famous regulations of Charles V. in 1542, which have been ſo often mentioned, the high pretenſions of the conquerors of the New World, who conſidered its inhabitants as ſlaves, to whoſe ſervice they had acquired a full right of property, were finally abrogated. From that period, the Indians have been reputed freemen, and entitled to the privileges of ſubjects. When admitted into this rank, it was deemed juſt, that they ſhould contribute towards the ſupport and improvement of the ſociety which had adopted them as members. But as no conſiderable benefit could be expected from the voluntary efforts of men unacquainted with regular induſtry, and averſe to labour, the court of Spain found it neceſſary to fix

and

Tax imposed on them.

and ſecure, by proper regulations, what it thought reaſonable to exact from them. With this view, an annual tax was impoſed upon every male, from the age of eighteen to fifty; and, at the ſame time, the nature as well as the extent of the ſervices which they might be required to perform, were aſcertained with preciſion. This tribute varies in different provinces; but if we take that paid in New Spain as a medium, its annual amount is nearly four ſhillings a head; no exorbitant ſum in countries where, as at the ſource of wealth, the value of money is extremely low [o]. The right of levying it likewiſe varies. In America, every Indian is either an immediate vaſſal of the crown, or depends upon ſome ſubject to whom the diſtrict, in which he reſides, has been granted for a limited time, under the denomination of an *encomienda*. In the former caſe, about three-fourths of the tax is paid into the royal treaſury; in the latter, the ſame proportion of it belongs to the holder of the grant. When Spain firſt took poſſeſſion of America, the greater part of it was parcelled out among its conquerors, or thoſe who firſt ſettled there, and but a ſmall portion reſerved for the crown. As thoſe grants which were made for two lives only [p], reverted ſucceſſively to the ſovereign, he had it in his power either to diffuſe his favours by grants to

[o] See NOTE LI. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. v. l. 42. Hackluyt, vol. iii. p. 461.

[p] Recopil. lib. vi. tit. viii. l. 48. Solorz. de Ind. Jure, lib. ii. c. 16.

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The services demanded.

THE benefit arising from the services of the Indians accrues either to the crown, or to the holder of the *encomienda*, according to the same rule observed in the payment of tribute. Those services, however, which can now be legally exacted, are very different from the servile tasks originally imposed upon the Indians. The nature of the work which they must perform is defined, and an equitable recompence is granted for their labour. The stated services demanded of the Indians, may be divided into two branches. They are either employed in works of primary necessity, without which society cannot subsist comfortably, or are compelled to labour in the mines, from which the Spanish colonies derive their chief value and importance. In consequence of the former, they are obliged to assist in the culture of maize, and other grain of necessary consumption; in tending cattle; in erecting edifices of public utility; in building bridges; and in forming high-roads [r]; but they

[q] See NOTE LII.

[r] Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xiii. l. 19. Solorz. de Ind. Jure, ii. lib. i. c. 6, 7. 9.

cannot

cannot be conſtrained to labour in raiſing vines, olives, and ſugar-canes, or any ſpecies of cultivation, which has for its object the gratification of luxury, or commercial profit[s]. In conſequence of the latter, the Indians are compelled to undertake the more unpleaſant taſk, of extracting ore from the bowels of the earth, and of refining it by ſucceſſive proceſſes, no leſs unwholeſome than operoſe[t].

The mode of exacting theſe.

THE mode of exacting both theſe ſervices is the ſame, and is under regulations framed with a view of rendering it as little oppreſſive as poſſible to the Indians. They are called out alternately in diviſions, termed *Mitas*, and no perſon can be compelled to go but in his turn. In Peru, the number called out muſt not exceed the ſeventh part of the inhabitants in any diſtrict[u]. In New Spain, where the Indians are more numerous, it is fixed at four in the hundred[w]. During what time the labour of thoſe Indians, who are employed in agriculture, continues, I have not been able to learn[x]. But in Peru, each *Mita*, or diviſion, deſtined for the mines, remains there ſix months; and while engaged in this ſervice, a labourer never receives leſs than two ſhillings a day, and often earns more than double that ſum[y]. No Indian, reſiding at a

[s] Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xiii. l. 8. Solorz. lib. i. c. 7. N°41, &c.

[t] See NOTE LIII. [u] Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xii. l. 21.

[w] Recopil. lib. vi. l. 22. [x] See NOTE LIV.

[y] Ulloa Entreten. 265, 266.

greater

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greater diſtance than thirty miles from a mine, is included in the Mita, or diviſion employed in working it [z]; nor are the inhabitants of the low country expoſed to certain deſtruction, by compelling them to remove from that warm climate, to the cold elevated regions where minerals abound [a].

How governed.

THE Indians who live in the principal towns, are entirely ſubject to the Spaniſh laws and magiſtrates; but in their own villages, they are governed by Caziques, ſome of whom are the deſcendants of their ancient lords, others are named by the Spaniſh viceroys. Theſe regulate the petty affairs of the people under them, according to maxims of juſtice, tranſmitted to them by tradition from their anceſtors. To the Indians, this juriſdiction, lodged in ſuch friendly hands, affords ſome conſolation; and ſo little formidable is this dignity to their new maſters, that they often allow it to deſcend by hereditary right [b]. For the farther relief of men ſo much expoſed to oppreſſion, the Spaniſh court has appointed an officer in every diſtrict, with the title of Protector of the Indians. It is his function, as the name implies, to aſſert the rights of the Indians; to appear as their defender in the courts of juſtice; and, by the interpoſition of his authority, to ſet bounds to the en-

z Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xii. l. 3.

a Ibid. l. 29. andtit. i. l. 13. See NOTE LV.

b Solorz. de Jure Ind. lib. i. c. 26. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. vii.

croachments

croachments and exactions of his countrymen [c]. A certain portion of the reserved fourth of the annual tribute, is destined for the salary of the caziques and protectors; another is applied to the maintenance of the clergy employed in the instruction of the Indians [d]. Another part seems to be appropriated for the benefit of the Indians themselves, and is applied for the payment of their tribute in years of famine, or when a particular district is affected by any extraordinary calamity [e]. Besides this, provision is made by various laws, that hospitals shall be founded in every new settlement for the reception of Indians [f]. Such hospitals have accordingly been erected, both for the indigent and infirm, in Lima, in Cuzco, and in Mexico, where the Indians are treated with tenderness and humanity [g].

SUCH are the leading principles in the jurisprudence and policy by which the Indians are now governed in the provinces belonging to Spain. In those regulations of the Spanish monarchs, we discover no traces of that cruel system of extermination, which they have been charged with adopting; and if we admit, that the necessity of securing subsistence for their colonies, or the advantages derived from working the mines, give them a right

[c] Solorz. lib. i. c. 27. p. 201. Recop. lib. vi. tit. vi.
[d] Recopil. lib. vi. tit. v. l. 30. Tit. xvi. l. 12—15.
[e] Recopil. lib. vi. tit. iv. l. 13.
[f] Ibid. lib. i. tit. iv. l. 1, &c.
[g] Voy. de Ulloa, i. 429. 509. Churchill, iv. 496.

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to avail themſelves of the labour of the Indians, we muſt allow, that the attention with which they regulate and recompenſe that labour, is provident and ſagacious. In no code of laws is greater ſolicitude diſplayed, or precautions multiplied with more concern for the preſervation, the ſecurity, and the happineſs of the ſubject, than we diſcover in the collection of the Spaniſh laws for the Indies. But thoſe later regulations, like the more early edicts which have been already mentioned, have too often proved ineffectual remedies againſt the evils which they were intended to prevent. In every age, if the ſame cauſes continue to operate, the ſame effects muſt follow. From the immenſe diſtance between the power entruſted with the execution of laws, and that by whoſe authority they are enacted, the vigour even of the moſt abſolute government muſt relax, and the dread of a ſuperior, too remote to obſerve with accuracy, or to puniſh with diſpatch, muſt inſenſibly abate. Notwithſtanding the numerous injunctions of the Spaniſh monarchs, the Indians ſtill ſuffer, on many occaſions, both from the avarice of individuals, and from the exactions of the magiſtrates, who ought to have protected them; unreaſonable taſks are impoſed; the term of their labour is prolonged, and they groan under all the inſults and wrongs which are the lot of a dependent people [h]. From ſome information on which I can depend, ſuch

[h] See NOTE LVI.

oppreſſion

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oppreſſion abounds more in Peru, than in any other colony. But it is not general. According to the accounts, even of thoſe authors who are moſt diſpoſed to exaggerate the ſufferings of the Indians, they, in ſeveral provinces, enjoy not only eaſe, but affluence; they poſſeſs large farms; they are maſters of numerous herds and flocks; and, by the knowledge which they have acquired of European arts and induſtry, are ſupplied not only with the neceſſaries, but with many luxuries of life[i].

Eccleſiaſtical conſtitution of the colonies.

AFTER explaining the form of civil government in the Spaniſh colonies, and the ſtate of the various orders of perſons ſubject to it, the peculiarities in their eccleſiaſtical conſtitution merit conſideration. Notwithſtanding the ſuperſtitious veneration with which the Spaniards are devoted to the Holy See, the vigilant and jealous policy of Ferdinand early prompted him to take precautions againſt the introduction of the papal dominion into America. With this view, he ſolicited Alexander VI. for a grant of the tythes in all the newly-diſcovered countries[k], which he obtained on condition of his making proviſion for the religious inſtruction of the natives. Soon after, Julius II. conferred on him the right of patronage, and abſolute diſpoſal of all the eccleſiaſtical benefices there[l]. Both

Reſtraints on the papal juriſdiction.

[i] Gage's Survey. p. 85. 90. 104. 119, &c.

[k] Bulla Alex. VI. A. D. 1501, ap Solorz. de Jure Ind. ii. p. 498.

[l] Bulla Julii, ii. 1508, ap Solorz. de Jure Ind. ii. 509.

these

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these pontiffs, unacquainted with the value of what he demanded, bestowed those donations with an inconsiderate liberality, which their successors have often lamented, and wished to recal. In consequence of those grants, the Spanish monarchs have become, in effect, the heads of the American church. In them the administration of its revenues is invested. Their nomination of persons to supply vacant benefices is instantly confirmed by the pope. Thus, in all Spanish America, authority of every species centres in the Crown. There no collision is known between spiritual and temporal jurisdiction. The king is the only superior, his name alone is heard, and no dependence upon any foreign power has been introduced. Papal bulls cannot be admitted into America, nor are they of any force there, until they have been previously examined, and approved of by the royal council of the Indies [m]; and if any bull should be surreptitiously introduced, and circulated in America without obtaining that approbation, ecclesiastics are required not only to prevent it from taking effect, but to seize all the copies of it, and transmit them to the council of the Indies [n]. To this limitation of the papal jurisdiction, equally singular, whether we consider the age and nation in which it was devised, or the jealous attention with which Ferdinand, and his successors, have studied to maintain

[m] Recopil. lib. i. tit. ix. l. 2. and Autas del Consejo de las Indias, clxi.

[n] Recop. lib. i. tit. vii. l. 55.

it in full force[o], Spain is indebted, in a great measure, for the uniform tranquillity which has reigned in her American dominions.

Form and endowments of the church in the Spanish colonies.

The hierarchy is established in America in the same form as in Spain, with its full train of archbishops, bishops, deans, and other dignitaries. The inferior clergy are divided into three classes, under the denomination of *Curas*, *Doctrineros*, and *Missioneros*. The first are parish-priests in those parts of the country where the Spaniards have settled. The second have the charge of such districts as are inhabited by Indians subjected to the Spanish government, and living under its protection. The third are employed in converting and instructing those fiercer tribes, which disdain submission to the Spanish yoke, and live in remote or inaccessible regions, to which the Spanish arms have not penetrated. So numerous are the ecclesiastics of all those various orders, and such the profuse liberality with which many of them are endowed, that the revenues of the church in America are immense. The superstition of Rome appears with its utmost pomp in the New World. Churches and convents there are magnificent, and richly adorned; and on high festivals, the display of gold and silver, and precious stones, is such as exceeds the conception of an European[p]. An ecclesiastical establishment so splendid and expensive,

[o] Recop. lib. i. tit. vii. l. 55. passim.

[p] Voy. de Ulloa, i. 430.

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is unfavourable, as has been formerly obſerved, to the progreſs of riſing colonies; but in countries where riches abound, and the people are ſo delighted with parade, that religion muſt aſſume it, in order to attract their veneration, this propenſity to oſtentation has been indulged, and becomes leſs pernicious.

Pernicious effects of monaſtic inſtitutions.

THE early inſtitution of monaſteries in the Spaniſh colonies, and the inconſiderate zeal in multiplying them, have been attended with conſequences more fatal. In every new ſettlement, the firſt object is to encourage population, and to incite every citizen to contribute towards augmenting the ſtrength and number of the community. During the youth and vigour of ſociety, while there is room to ſpread, and ſuſtenance is procured with facility, mankind increaſe with amazing rapidity. But the Spaniards had hardly taken poſſeſſion of America, when, with a moſt prepoſterous policy, they began to erect convents, where perſons of both ſexes were ſhut up, under a vow to defeat the purpoſe of nature, and to counteract the firſt of her laws. Influenced by a miſguided piety, which aſcribes tranſcendent merit to a ſtate of celibacy, or allured by the proſpect of that liſtleſs eaſe, which, in ſultry climates, is deemed ſupreme felicity, numbers crowd into thoſe manſions of ſloth and ſuperſtition, and are loſt to ſociety. As none but perſons of Spaniſh extract are admitted into the monaſteries of the New World, the evil is more

ſenſibly felt, and every monk or nun may be conſidered as an active perſon withdrawn from civil life. The impropriety of ſuch foundations in any ſituation where the extent of territory requires additional hands to improve it, is ſo obvious, that ſome catholic ſtates have expreſsly prohibited any perſon in their colonies from taking the monaſtic vows [q]. Even the Spaniſh monarchs, on ſome occaſions, ſeem to have been alarmed with the ſpreading of a ſpirit ſo adverſe to the increaſe and proſperity of their colonies, that they have endeavoured to check it [r]. But the Spaniards in America, more thoroughly under the influence of ſuperſtition than their countrymen in Europe, and directed by eccleſiaſtics more bigoted and illiterate, have conceived ſuch an high opinion of monaſtic ſanctity, that no regulations can reſtrain their zeal; and, by the exceſs of their ill judged bounty, religious houſes have multiplied to a degree no leſs amazing than pernicious to ſociety [s].

Character of eccleſiaſtics in Spaniſh America;

IN viewing the ſtate of colonies, where not only the number but influence of eccleſiaſtics is ſo great, the character of this powerful body is an object that merits particular attention. A conſiderable part of the ſecular clergy in Mexico and Peru are natives of Spain. As perſons accuſtomed, by their

q Voy. de Ulloa, ii. 124.

r Herrera, dec. v. lib. ix. c. 1, 2. Recop. lib. 1. tit. iii. l. 1, 2. Tit. iv. c. 2. Solorz. lib. iii. c. 23.

s See NOTE LVII.

 education,

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education, to the retirement and indolence of academic life, are more incapable of active enterprize, and less disposed to strike into new paths, than any order of men, the ecclesiastical adventurers by whom the American church is recruited, are commonly such as, from merit or rank in life, have little prospect of success in their own country.

of the seculars;

Accordingly, the secular priests in the New World are still less distinguished than their brethren in Spain, for literary accomplishments of any species; and though, by the ample provision which has been made for the American church, many of its members enjoy the ease and independence which are favourable to the cultivation of science, the body of secular clergy has hardly, during two centuries and a half, produced one author whose works convey such useful information, or possess such a degree of merit, as to be ranked among those which attract the attention of enlightened nations.

of the regulars.

But the greatest part of the ecclesiastics in the Spanish settlements are regulars. On the discovery of America, a new field opened to the pious zeal of the monastic orders; and, with a becoming alacrity, they immediately sent forth missionaries to labour in it. The first attempt to instruct and convert the Americans, was made by monks; and, as soon as the conquest of any province was completed, and its ecclesiastical establishment began to assume some form, the popes permitted the missionaries of the four mendicant orders, as a reward for their services, to accept of parochial charges in America,

to

to perform all ſpiritual functions, and to receive the tythes, and other emoluments of the benefice, without depending on the juriſdiction of the biſhop of the dioceſe, or being ſubject to his cenſures. In conſequence of this, a new career of uſefulneſs, as well as new objects of ambition, preſented themſelves. Whenever a call is made for a freſh ſupply of miſſionaries, men of the moſt ardent and aſpiring minds, impatient under the reſtraint of a cloiſter, weary of its inſipid uniformity, and fatigued with the irkſome repetition of its frivolous functions, offer their ſervice with eagerneſs, and repair to the New World in queſt of liberty and diſtinction. Nor do they purſue diſtinction without ſucceſs. The higheſt eccleſiaſtical honours, as well as the moſt lucrative preferments in Mexico and Peru, are often in the hands of regulars; and it is chiefly to the monaſtic orders that the Americans are indebted for any portion of ſcience which is cultivated among them. They are almoſt the only Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics, from whom we have received any accounts, either of the civil or natural hiſtory of the various provinces in America. Some of them, though deeply tinged with the indelible ſuperſtition of their profeſſion, have publiſhed books which give a favourable idea of their abilities. The natural and moral hiſtory of the New World, by the Jeſuit Acoſta, contains more accurate obſervations, perhaps, and more found ſcience, than are to be found in any deſcription

 of

BOOK VIII. of remote countries publiſhed in the ſixteenth century.

Diſſolute manners of ſome of them.

But the ſame diſguſt with monaſtic life, to which America is indebted for ſome inſtructors of worth and abilities, filled it with others of a very different character. The giddy, the profligate, the avaricious, to whom the poverty and rigid diſcipline of a convent are intolerable, conſider a miſſion to America as a releaſe from mortification and bondage. There they ſoon obtain ſome parochial charge, and far removed, by their ſituation, from the inſpection of their monaſtic ſuperiors, and exempt, by their character, from the juriſdiction of their dioceſan [u], they are hardly ſubject to any controul. According to the teſtimony of the moſt zealous catholics, many of the regular clergy in the Spaniſh ſettlements are not only deſtitute of the virtues becoming their profeſſion, but regardleſs of that external decorum and reſpect for the opinion of mankind, which preſerve a ſemblance of worth, where the reality is wanting. Secure of impunity, ſome regulars, in contempt of their vow of poverty, engage openly in commerce; and are ſo rapaciouſly eager in amaſſing wealth, that they become the moſt grievous oppreſſors of the Indians, whom it was their duty to have protected. Others, with no leſs flagrant violation of their vow

[u] Avendano Theſ. Indic. ii. 253.

of chaſtity, indulge with little diſguiſe in the moſt diſſolute licentiouſneſs [x]. BOOK VIII.

VARIOUS ſchemes have been propoſed for redreſſing enormities ſo manifeſt and offenſive. Several perſons, no leſs eminent for piety than diſcernment, have contended, that the regulars, in conformity to the canons of the church, ought to be confined within the walls of their cloiſters, and ſhould no longer be permitted to encroach on the functions of the ſecular clergy. Some public-ſpirited magiſtrates, from conviction of its being neceſſary to deprive the regulars of a privilege, beſtowed at firſt with good intention, but of which time and experience had diſcovered the pernicious effects, openly countenanced the ſecular clergy in their attempts to aſſert their own rights. The 1618.
prince D'Eſquilache, viceroy of Peru under Philip III. took meaſures ſo deciſive and effectual for circumſcribing the regulars within their proper ſphere, as ſtruck them with general conſternation [y]. They had recourſe to their uſual arts. They alarmed the ſuperſtitious, by repreſenting the proceedings of the viceroy as innovations fatal to religion. They employed all the refinements of intrigue, in order to gain perſons in power; and ſeconded by the powerful influence of the Jeſuits, who claimed and enjoyed all the privileges which belonged to the Mendicant orders in America,

[x] See NOTE LVIII. [y] See NOTE LXIX.

BOOK VIII. they made a deep impreſſion on a bigoted prince, and a weak miniſtry. The ancient practice was tolerated. The abuſes which it occaſioned continued to increaſe, and the corruption of monks, exempt from the reſtraints of diſcipline, and the inſpection of any ſuperior, became a diſgrace to religion. At laſt, as the veneration of the Spaniards for the monaſtic orders began to abate, and the power of the Jeſuits was on the decline, Ferdinand VI. ventured to apply the only effectual remedy by iſſuing an edict, prohibiting Regulars of every denomination from taking the charge of any pariſh with the cure of ſouls; and declaring, that on the demiſe of the preſent incumbents, none but ſecular prieſts, ſubject to the juriſdiction of their dioceſans, ſhall be preſented to vacant benefices[z]. If this regulation is carried into execution with ſteadineſs in any degree proportional to the wiſdom with which it is framed, a very conſiderable reformation may take place in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate of Spaniſh America, and the ſecular clergy may gradually become a reſpectable body of men. The deportment of many eccleſiaſtics, even at preſent, ſeems to be decent and exemplary, otherwiſe we can hardly ſuppoſe that they would be held in ſuch high eſtimation, and poſſeſs ſuch a wonderful aſcendant over the minds of their countrymen throughout all the Spaniſh ſettlements.

June 23, 1757.

[z] Real Cedula MS. penes me.

BUT

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Small progreſs in converting the Indians to Chriſtianity.

But whatever merit the Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics in America may poſſeſs, the ſucceſs of their endeavours in communicating the knowledge of true religion to the Indians, has been more imperfect than might have been expected, either from the degree of their zeal, or from the dominion which they had acquired over that people. For this, various reaſons may be aſſigned. The firſt miſſionaries, in their ardour to make proſelytes, admitted the people of America into the chriſtian church, without previous inſtruction in the doctrines of religion, and even before they themſelves had acquired ſuch knowledge of the Indian language, as to be able to explain to the natives the myſteries of faith, or the precepts of duty. Reſting upon a ſubtle diſtinction in ſcholaſtiſt theology, between that degree of aſſent which is founded on a complete knowledge and conviction of duty, and that which may be yielded when both theſe are imperfect, they adopted this ſtrange practice, no leſs inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of a religion which addreſſes itſelf to the underſtanding of men, than repugnant to the dictates of reaſon. As ſoon as any body of people, overawed by dread of the Spaniſh power, moved by the example of their own chiefs, incited by levity, or yielding from mere ignorance, expreſſed the ſlighteſt deſire of embracing the religion of their conquerors, they were inſtantly baptized. While this rage of converſion continued, a ſingle clergyman baptized in one day above five thouſand Mexicans, and did not deſiſt until he was

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ſo exhauſted by fatigue, that he was unable to lift his hands [a]. In the courſe of a few years, after the reduction of the Mexican empire, the ſacrament of baptiſm was adminiſtered to more than four millions [b]. Proſelytes adopted with ſuch inconſiderate haſte, and who were neither inſtructed in the nature of the tenets to which it was ſuppoſed they had given aſſent, nor taught the abſurdity of thoſe which they were required to relinquiſh, retained their veneration for their ancient ſuperſtitions in full force, or mingled an attachment to its doctrines and rites with that ſlender knowledge of Chriſtianity which they acquired. Theſe sentiments the new converts tranſmitted to their poſterity, into whoſe minds they have ſunk ſo deep, that the Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics, with all their induſtry, have not been able to eradicate them. The religious inſtitutions of their anceſtors are ſtill remembered, and held in honour by the Indians, both in Mexico and Peru; and whenever they think themſelves out of reach of inſpection by the Spaniards, they aſſemble and celebrate their idolatrous rites [c].

But this is not the moſt unſurmountable obſtacle to the progreſs of Chriſtianity among the Indians. The powers of their uncultivated under-

[a] P. Torribio, MS. Torquem. Mond. Ind. lib. xvi. c. 6.

[b] P. Torribio. MS. Torquem. lib. xvi. c. 8.

[c] Voy. de Ulloa, i. 341. Torquem. lib. xv. c. 23. lib. xvi. c. 28. Gage, 171.

ſtandings

ſtandings are ſo limited, their obſervations and reflections reach ſo little beyond the mere objects of ſenſe, that they ſeem hardly to have the capacity of forming abſtract ideas, and poſſeſs not language to expreſs them. To ſuch men, the ſublime and ſpiritual doctrines of Chriſtianity muſt be incomprehenſible. The numerous and ſplendid ceremonies of the popiſh worſhip catch the eye, pleaſe and intereſt them; but when their inſtructors attempt to explain the articles of faith, with which thoſe external obſervances are connected, though the Indians may liſten with patience, they ſo little conceive the meaning of what they hear, that their acquieſcence does not merit the name of belief. Their indifference is ſtill greater than their incapacity. Attentive only to the preſent moment, and ingroſſed by the objects before them, the Indians ſo ſeldom reflect upon what is paſt, or take thought for what is to come, that neither the promiſes, nor threats of religion, make much impreſſion upon them; and while their foreſight rarely extends ſo far as the next day, it is almoſt impoſſible to inſpire them with ſolicitude about the concerns of a future world. Aſtoniſhed equally at their ſlowneſs of comprehenſion, and at their inſenſibility, ſome of the early miſſionaries pronounced them a race of men ſo brutiſh, as to be incapable of underſtanding the firſt principles of religion. A council held at Lima decreed, that, on account of this incapacity, they ought to be excluded from the ſacrament of the Euchariſt.

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rist[d]. And though Paul III. by his famous bull, issued in the year 1537, declared them to be rational creatures, entitled to all the privileges of Christians[e]; yet, after the lapse of two centuries, during which they have been members of the church, so imperfect are their attainments in knowledge, that very few possess such a portion of spiritual discernment, as to be deemed worthy of being admitted to the holy communion[f]. From this idea of their incapacity and imperfect knowledge of religion, when the zeal of Philip II. established the inquisition in America in the year 1570, the Indians were exempted from the jurisdiction of that severe tribunal[g], and still continue under the inspection of their diocesans. Even after the most perfect instruction, their faith is held to be feeble and dubious; and though some of them have been taught the learned languages, and have gone through the ordinary course of academic education with applause, their frailty is still so much suspected, that no Indian is either ordained a priest, or received into any religious order[h].

Productions of the Spanish colonies.

FROM this brief survey, some idea may be formed of the interior state of the Spanish colonies. The various productions with which they supply

[d] Torquem. lib. xvi. c. 20.

[e] Torquem. lib. xvi. c. 25. Garcia origin. 311.

[f] Voy. de Ulloa, i. 343.

[g] Recop. lib. vi. tit. i. l. 35.

[h] Torquem. lib. xvii. c. 13. See NOTE LX.

and

and enrich the mother country, and the ſyſtem of commercial intercourſe between them, come next in order to be explained. If the dominions of Spain in the New World had been of ſuch moderate extent, as bore a due proportion to the parent ſtate, the progreſs of her colonizing might have been attended with the ſame benefit as that of other nations. But when, in leſs than half a century, her inconſiderate rapacity had ſeized on countries larger than all Europe, her inability to fill ſuch vaſt regions with a number of inhabitants ſufficient for the cultivation of them, was ſo obvious, as to give a wrong direction to all the efforts of the coloniſts. They did not form compact ſettlements, where induſtry, circumſcribed within proper limits, both in its views and operations, is conducted with that ſober perſevering ſpirit, which gradually converts whatever is in its poſſeſſion to a proper uſe, and derives thence the greateſt advantage. Inſtead of this, the Spaniards, ſeduced by the boundleſs proſpect which opened to them, divided their poſſeſſions in America into governments of vaſt extent. As their number was too ſmall to attempt the regular culture of the immenſe provinces, which they occupied rather than peopled, they bent their attention to a few objects, that allured them with hopes of ſudden and exorbitant gain, and turned away with contempt from the humbler paths of induſtry, which lead more ſlowly, but with greater certainty, to wealth and increaſe of national ſtrength.

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From their mines.

Of all the methods by which riches may be acquired, that of ſearching for the precious metals is one of the moſt inviting to men, who are either unaccuſtomed to the regular aſſiduity with which the culture of the earth and the operations of commerce muſt be carried on, or ſo enterpriſing and rapacious as not to be ſatisfied with the gradual returns of profit which they yield. Accordingly, as ſoon as the ſeveral countries in America were ſubjected to the dominion of Spain, this was almoſt the only method of acquiring wealth which occurred to the adventurers, by whom they were conquered. Such provinces of the continent as did not allure them to ſettle, by the proſpect of their affording gold and ſilver, were totally neglected. Thoſe in which they met with a diſappointment of the ſanguine expectations they had formed, were abandoned. Even the value of the iſlands, the firſt-fruits of their diſcoveries, and the firſt object of their attention, ſunk ſo much in their eſtimation, when the mines which had been opened in them were exhauſted, that they were deſerted by many of the planters, and left to be occupied by more induſtrious poſſeſſors. All crowded to Mexico and Peru, where the vaſt quantities of gold and ſilver found among the natives, who ſearched for them with little induſtry and leſs ſkill, promiſed an unexhauſted ſtore, as the recompence of more intelligent and perſevering efforts.

BOOK VIII.

Discovery of those of Potosi and Sacotecas.

During several years, the ardour of their researches was kept up by hope, rather than success. At length, the rich silver mines of Potosi, in Peru, were accidentally discovered in the year 1545[i], by an Indian, as he was clambering up the mountain, in pursuit of a Llama which had strayed from his flock. Soon after the mines of Sacotecas, in New Spain, little inferior to the other in value, were opened. From that time, successive discoveries have been made in both colonies, and silver mines are now so numerous, that the working of them, and of some few mines of gold in the provinces of Tierra Firmè, and the new kingdom of Granada, has become the capital occupation of the Spaniards, and is reduced into a system no less complicated than interesting. To describe the nature of the various ores, the mode of extracting them from the bowels of the earth, and to explain the several processes by which the metals are separated from the substances with which they are mingled, either by the action of fire, or the attractive powers of mercury, is the province of the natural philosopher or chymist, rather than of the historian.

Riches which they yield.

The exuberant profusion with which the mountains of the New World poured forth their treasures, astonished mankind, accustomed hitherto to receive a penurious supply of the precious metals,

[i] Fernandez, p. i. lib. xi. c. 11.

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from the more ſcanty ſtores contained in the mines of the ancient hemiſphere. According to principles of computation, which appear to be extremely moderate, the quantity of gold and ſilver that has been regularly entered in the ports of Spain, is equal in value to four millions ſterling annually, reckoning from the year 1492, in which America was diſcovered, to the preſent time. This, in two hundred and eighty-three years, amounts to eleven hundred and thirty-two millions. Immenſe as this ſum is, the Spaniſh writers contend, that as much more ought to be added to it, in conſideration of the treaſure which has been extracted from the mines, without paying duty to the king. By this account, Spain has drawn from the New World a ſupply of wealth, amounting at leaſt to two thouſand millions of pounds ſterling [k].

Spirit to which this gives riſe.

THE mines, which have yielded this amazing quantity of treaſure, are not worked at the expence of the crown, or of the public. In order to encourage private adventurers, the perſon who diſcovers a new vein, is entitled to the property of it. Upon laying his claim before the governor of the province, a certain extent of land is meaſured off, and a certain number of Indians allotted him, under the obligation of his opening the mine

[k] Uztariz Theor. y Pract. de Commercia, c. 3. Herrera, dec. viii. lib. xi. c. 15. See NOTE LXI.

within

within a limited time, and of his paying the cuſtomary duty to the king, for what it ſhall produce. Invited by the facility with which ſuch grants are obtained, and encouraged by ſome ſtriking examples of ſucceſs in this line of adventure; not only the ſanguine and the bold, but the timid and diffident enter upon it with aſtoniſhing ardour. With vaſt objects always in view, fed continually with hope, and expecting every moment that fortune will unveil her ſecret ſtores, and give them up to their wiſhes, they deem every other occupation inſipid and unintereſting. The charms of this purſuit, like the rage for deep play, are ſo bewitching, and take ſuch full poſſeſſion of the mind, as even to give a new bent to the natural temper. Under its influence, the cautious become enterprizing, and the covetous profuſe. Powerful as this charm naturally is, its force is augmented by the arts of an order of men known in Peru by the cant name of *ſearchers*. Theſe are commonly perſons of deſperate fortunes, who, availing themſelves of ſome ſkill in mineralogy, accompanied with the inſinuating manner, and confident pretenſions peculiar to projectors, addreſs the wealthy and the credulous. By plauſible deſcriptions of the appearances which they have diſcovered of rich veins hitherto unexplored; by producing when requiſite, ſpecimens of promiſing ore; by affirming, with an impoſing aſſurance, that ſucceſs is certain, and that the expence muſt be trifling, they ſeldom fail to perſuade. An aſſociation is formed; a ſmall

ſum

BOOK VIII. ſum is advanced by each copartner; the mine is opened; the *ſearcher* is entruſted with the ſole direction of every operation; unforeſeen difficulties occur; new demands of money are made; but, amidſt a ſucceſſion of diſappointments and delays, hope is never extinguiſhed, and the ardour of expectation hardly abates. For it is obſerved, that if any perſon once enter this ſeducing path, it is almoſt impoſſible to return; his ideas alter, he ſeems to be poſſeſſed with another ſpirit, viſions of imaginary wealth are continually before his eyes, and he thinks, and ſpeaks, and dreams of nothing elſe[1].

Fatal effects of it.

SUCH is the ſpirit that muſt be formed, wherever the active exertions of any ſociety are chiefly employed in working mines of gold and ſilver. No ſpirit is more adverſe to ſuch improvement in agriculture and commerce, as render a nation really opulent. If the ſyſtem of adminiſtration in the Spaniſh colonies had been founded upon principles of ſound policy, the power and ingenuity of the legiſlature would have been exerted with as much ardour, in reſtraining its ſubjects from ſuch pernicious induſtry, as is now employed in alluring them towards it. "Projects of mining (ſays a "good judge of the political conduct of nations) "inſtead of replacing the capital employed in "them, together with the ordinary profit of ſtock,

[1] Ulloa Entreten. p. 223.

" commonly abſorb both capital and profit. They
" are the projects, therefore, to which, of all
" others, a prudent lawgiver, who deſired to in-
" creaſe the capital of his nation, would leaſt
" chuſe to give any extraordinary encouragement,
" or to turn towards them a greater ſhare of that
" capital than would go to them of its own ac-
" cord. Such, in reality, is the abſurd confidence
" which all men have in their own good fortune,
" that wherever there is the leaſt probability of
" ſucceſs, too great a ſhare of it is apt to go to
" them of its own accord[m]." But in the Spaniſh colonies, government is ſtudious to cheriſh a ſpirit which it ſhould have laboured to depreſs, and, by the ſanction of its approbation, augments that inconſiderate credulity, which has turned the active induſtry of Mexico and Peru into ſuch an improper channel. To this may be imputed the ſlender progreſs which Spaniſh America has made during two centuries and a half, either in uſeful manufactures, or in thoſe lucrative branches of cultivation, which furniſh the colonies of other nations with their ſtaple commodities. In compariſon with the precious metals, every bounty of nature is ſo much deſpiſed, that this extravagant idea of their value has mingled with the idiom of language in America, and the Spaniards ſettled there denominate a country, *rich*, not from the fertility of its ſoil, the abundance of its crops, or the exu-

[m] Dr. Smith's Inquiry, &c. ii. 155.

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berance of its paſtures, but on account of the minerals which its mountains contain. In queſt of theſe, they abandon the delightful plains of Peru and Mexico, and reſort to barren and uncomfortable regions, where they have built ſome of the largeſt towns which they poſſeſs in the New World. As the activity and enterpriſe of the Spaniards originally took this direction, it is now ſo difficult to bend them a different way, that although, from various cauſes, the gain of working mines is much decreaſed; the faſcination continues, and almoſt every perſon, who takes any active part in the commerce of New Spain or Peru, is ſtill engaged in ſome adventure of this kind [n].

Other commodities of the Spaniſh colonies.

BUT though mines are the chief object of the Spaniards, and the precious metals which theſe yield, form the principal article in their commerce with America; the fertile countries which they poſſeſs there, abound with other commodities of ſuch value or ſcarcity, as to attract a conſiderable degree of attention. Cochineal is a production almoſt peculiar to New Spain, of ſuch demand in commerce, that the ſale is always certain, and it yields ſuch profit, as amply rewards the labour and care employed in rearing the curious inſects of which this valuable drug is compoſed, and preparing it for the market. Quinquina, or Jeſuits Bark, the moſt ſalutary ſimple, perhaps, and of

[n] See NOTE LXII.

moſt reſtorative virtue, that Providence, in compaſſion for human infirmity, has made known unto man, is found only in Peru, to which it affords a lucrative branch of commerce. The indigo of Guatimala is ſuperior in quality to that of any province in America, and cultivated to a conſiderable extent. Cacoa, though not peculiar to the Spaniſh colonies, attains to its higheſt ſtate of perfection there, and from the great conſumption of chocolate in Europe, as well as in America, is a valuable commodity. The Tobacco of Cuba, of more exquiſite flavour than any brought from the New World; the ſugar raiſed in that iſland, in Hiſpaniola, and in New Spain, together with drugs of various kinds, may be mentioned among the natural productions of America, which enrich the Spaniſh commerce. To theſe muſt be added, an article of no inconſiderable account, the exportation of hides; for which, as well as for many of thoſe which I have enumerated, the Spaniards are more indebted to the wonderful fertility of the country than to their own foreſight and induſtry. The domeſtic animals of Europe, particularly horned cattle, have multiplied in the New World with a rapidity which almoſt exceeds belief. A few years after the Spaniards ſettled there, the herds of tame cattle became ſo numerous, that their proprietors reckoned them by thouſands [*].

[*] Oviedo ap. Ramuſ. iii. 101, B. Hackluyt, iii. 466. 511.

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Leſs attention being paid to them, as they continued to increaſe, they were ſuffered to run wild, and ſpreading over a country of boundleſs extent, under a mild climate, and covered with rich paſture, their number became immenſe. They range over the vaſt plains which extend from Buenos Ayres, towards the Andes, in herds of thirty or forty thouſand; and the unlucky traveller who once falls in among them, may proceed ſeveral days before he can diſentangle himſelf from among the crowd that covers the face of the earth, and ſeems to have no end. They are hardly leſs numerous in New Spain, and in ſeveral other provinces: theſe are killed merely for the ſake of their hides; and the ſlaughter at certain ſeaſons is ſo great, that the ſtench of the carcaſes, which are left in the field, would infect the air, if large packs of wild dogs, and vaſt flocks of *gallinazos*, or American vultures, the moſt voracious of all the feathered kind, did not inſtantly devour them. The number of thoſe hides exported in every fleet to Europe is prodigious, and is a lucrative branch of commerce [p].

Almost all theſe may be conſidered as ſtaple commodities peculiar to America, and different, if we except that laſt mentioned, from the productions of the mother-country.

[p] Acoſta, lib. iii. c. 33. Ovallo Hiſt. of Chili. Church. Collect. iii. 4^. ſep. Ibid. v. p. 680. 692. Lettres Edif. xiii. 235. Feuillé, i. 249.

WHEN

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Advantages which Spain derives from her colonies.

WHEN the importation into Spain of thoſe various articles from her colonies, firſt became active and conſiderable, her interior induſtry and manufactures were in a ſtate ſo proſperous, that with the product of theſe ſhe was able both to purchaſe the commodities of the New World, and to anſwer its growing demands. Under the reigns of Ferdinand and Iſabella, and Charles V. Spain was one of the moſt induſtrious countries in Europe. Her manufactures in wool, and flax, and ſilk, were ſo extenſive, as not only to furniſh what was ſufficient for her own conſumption, but to afford a ſurplus for exportation. When a market for them, formerly unknown, and to which ſhe alone had acceſs, opened in America, ſhe had recourſe to her domeſtic ſtore, and found there an abundant ſupply [q]. This new employment muſt naturally have added vivacity to the ſpirit of induſtry. Nouriſhed and invigorated by it, the manufactures, the population, and wealth of Spain might have gone on increaſing in the ſame proportion with the growth of her colonies. Nor was the ſtate of the Spaniſh marine at this period leſs flouriſhing than that of its manufactures. In the beginning of the ſixteenth century, Spain is ſaid to have poſſeſſed above a thouſand merchant ſhips [r], a number probably far ſuperior to that of any nation in Europe. By the aid which foreign trade and domeſtic induſtry give reciprocally to

[q] See NOTE LXIII.

[r] Campomanes, ii. 140.

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each other in their progreſs, the augmentation of both muſt have been rapid and extenſive, and Spain might have received the ſame acceſſion of opulence and vigour from her acquiſitions in the New World, that other powers have derived from their colonies there.

Why ſhe does not now derive the ſame.

But various cauſes prevented this. The ſame thing happens to nations as to individuals. Wealth, which flows in gradually, and with moderate increaſe, feeds and nouriſhes that activity which is friendly to commerce, and calls it forth into vigorous and well-conducted exertions; but when opulence pours in ſuddenly, and with too full a ſtream, it overturns all ſober plans of induſtry, and brings along with it a taſte for what is wild and extravagant, and daring in buſineſs or in action. Such was the great and ſudden augmentation of power and revenue, that the poſſeſſion of America brought into Spain, and ſome ſymptoms of its pernicious influence upon the political operations of that monarchy ſoon began to appear. For a conſiderable time, however, the ſupply of treaſure from the New World was ſcanty and precarious, and the genius of Charles V. conducted public meaſures with ſuch prudence, that the effects of this influence were little perceived. But when Philip II. aſcended the Spaniſh throne, with talents far inferior to thoſe of his father, and remittances from the colonies became a regular and vaſt branch of revenue, the fatal operation of this

rapid change in the ſtate of the kingdom, both on the monarch and his people, was at once conſpicuous. Philip, poſſeſſing that ſpirit of unceaſing aſſiduity, which often characterizes the ambition of men of moderate talents, entertained ſuch an high opinion of his own reſources, that he thought nothing too arduous for him to undertake. Shut up himſelf in the ſolitude of the Eſcurial, he troubled and annoyed all the nations around him. He waged open war with the Dutch and Engliſh; he encouraged and aided a rebellious faction in France; he conquered Portugal, and maintained armies and garriſons in Italy, Africa, and both the Indies. By ſuch a multiplicity of great and complicated operations, purſued with ardour during the courſe of a long reign, Spain was drained both of men and money. Under the weak adminiſtration of his ſucceſſor, Philip III. the vigour of the nation continued to decreaſe, and ſunk into the loweſt decline, when the inconſiderate bigotry of that monarch expelled at once near a million of his moſt induſtrious ſubjects, at the very time when the exhauſted ſtate of the kingdom required ſome extraordinary exertion of political wiſdom to augment its numbers, and to revive its ſtrength. Early in the ſeventeenth century, Spain felt ſuch a diminution in the number of her people, that from inability to recruit her armies, ſhe was obliged to contract her operations. Her flouriſhing manufactures were fallen into decay. Her fleets, which had been the terror of all

A.D. 1611.

BOOK VIII. Europe, were ruined. Her extenſive foreign commerce was loſt. The trade between different parts of her own dominions was interrupted, and the ſhips which attempted to carry it on, were taken and plundered by enemies whom ſhe once deſpiſed. Even agriculture, the primary object of induſtry in every proſperous ſtate, was neglected, and one of the moſt fertile countries in Europe hardly raiſed what was ſufficient for the ſupport of its own inhabitants.

Rapid decline of its trade.

IN proportion as the population and manufactures of the parent ſtate declined, the demands of her colonies continued to increaſe. The Spaniards, like their monarchs, intoxicated with the wealth which poured in annually upon them, deſerted the paths of induſtry, to which they had been accuſtomed, and repaired with eagerneſs to thoſe regions from which this opulence iſſued. By this rage of emigration, another drain was opened, and the ſtrength of the colonies augmented by exhauſting that of the mother-country. All thoſe emigrants, as well as the adventurers who had at firſt ſettled in America, depended abſolutely upon Spain for almoſt every article of neceſſary conſumption. Engaged in more alluring and lucrative purſuits, or prevented by reſtraints which government impoſed, they could not turn their own attention towards eſtabliſhing the manufactures requiſite for comfortable ſubſiſtence. They received (as I have obſerved in another place) their clothing, their furniture,

furniture, whatever miniſters to the eaſe or luxury of life, and even their inſtruments of labour, from Europe. Spain, thinned of people, and void of induſtry, was unable to ſupply their increaſing demands. She had recourſe to her neighbours. The manufactures of the Low Countries, of England, of France, and of Italy, which her wants called into exiſtence, or animated with new vivacity, furniſhed in abundance whatever ſhe required. In vain did the fundamental law, concerning the excluſion of foreigners from trade with America, oppoſe this innovation. Neceſſity, more powerful than any ſtatute, defeated its operations, and conſtrained the Spaniards themſelves to concur in eluding it. The Engliſh, the French, and Dutch, relying on the fidelity and honour of Spaniſh merchants, who lend their names to cover the deceit, ſend out their manufactures to America, and receive the exorbitant price for which they are ſold there, either in ſpecie, or in the rich commodities of the New World. Neither the dread of danger, nor the allurement of profit, ever induced a Spaniſh factor to betray or defraud the perſon who confided in him [s]; and that probity, which is the pride and diſtinction of the nation, contributes to its ruin. In a ſhort time, not above a twentieth part of the commodities exported to America was of Spaniſh growth or fabric [t]. All the reſt was the property of foreign merchants, though entered

[s] Zavala Repreſentacion, p. 226. [t] Campomanes, ii. 138.

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in the name of Spaniards. The treaſure of the New World may be ſaid henceforward not to have belonged to Spain. Before it reached Europe, it was anticipated as the price of goods purchaſed from foreigners. That wealth which, by an internal circulation, would have ſpread through each vein of induſtry, and have conveyed life and activity to every branch of manufacture, flowed out of the kingdom with ſuch a rapid courſe, as neither enriched nor animated it. On the other hand, the artizans of rival nations, encouraged by this quick ſale of their commodities, improved ſo much in ſkill and induſtry, as to be able to afford them at a rate ſo low, that the manufactures of Spain, which could not vie with theirs, either in quality or cheapneſs of work, were ſtill farther depreſſed. This deſtructive commerce drained off the riches of the nation faſter and more completely, than even the extravagant ſchemes of ambition carried on by its monarchs. Spain was ſo much aſtoniſhed and diſtreſſed, at beholding her American treaſures vaniſh almoſt as ſoon as they were imported, that Philip III. unable to ſupply what was requiſite in circulation, iſſued an edict, by which he endeavoured to raiſe copper money to a value in currency nearly equal to that of ſilver [u]; and the lord of the Peruvian and Mexican mines was reduced to a wretched expedient, which is the laſt reſource of petty impoveriſhed ſtates.

[u] Uztarez, c. 104.

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Thus the poſſeſſions of Spain in America have not proved a ſource of population and of wealth to her, in the ſame manner as thoſe of other nations. In the countries of Europe, where the ſpirit of induſtry ſubſiſts in full vigour, every perſon ſettled in ſuch colonies as are ſimilar in their ſituation to thoſe of Spain, is ſuppoſed to give employment to three or four at home in ſupplying his wants [x]. But wherever the mother-country cannot afford this ſupply, every emigrant may be conſidered as a citizen loſt to the community, and ſtrangers muſt reap all the benefit of anſwering his demands.

increaſed by the mode of regulating its interecourſe with America.

Such has been the internal ſtate of Spain from the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, and ſuch her inability to ſupply the growing wants of her colonies. The fatal effects of this diſproportion between their demands, and her capacity of anſwering them, have been much increaſed by the mode in which Spain has endeavoured to regulate the intercourſe between the mother-country and the colonies. It is from her idea of monopolizing the trade with America, and debarring her ſubjects there from any communication with foreigners, that all her jealous and ſyſtematic arrangements have ariſen. Theſe are ſo ſingular in their nature and conſequences, as to merit a particular explanation. In order to ſecure the monopoly at which ſhe aimed, Spain

[x] Child on trade and colonies.

did

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did not veſt the trade with her colonies in an excluſive company, a plan which had been adopted by nations more commercial, and at a period when mercantile policy was an object of greater attention, and ought to have been better underſtood. The Dutch gave up the whole trade with their colonies, both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, to excluſive companies. The Engliſh, the French, the Danes, have imitated their example with reſpect to the Eaſt Indian commerce; and the two former have laid a ſimilar reſtraint upon ſome branches of their trade with the New World. The wit of man cannot, perhaps, deviſe a method for checking the progreſs of induſtry and population in a new colony more effectual than this. The intereſt of the colony, and of the excluſive company, muſt in every point be diametrically oppoſite; and as the latter poſſeſſes ſuch advantages in this unequal conteſt, that it can preſcribe at pleaſure the terms of intercourſe, the former muſt not only buy dear and ſell cheap, but muſt ſuffer the mortification of having the increaſe of its ſurplus ſtock diſcouraged by thoſe very perſons to whom alone it can diſpoſe of its productions[y].

This confined to one port in Spain.

SPAIN, it is probable, was preſerved from falling into this error in policy, by the high ideas which ſhe early formed concerning the riches of the New World. Gold and ſilver were commo-

[y] Smith's Inquiry, ii. 171.

dities

dities of too high value to veſt a monopoly of them in private hands. The crown wiſhed to retain the direction of a commerce ſo inviting; and, in order to ſecure that, ordained the cargo of every ſhip fitted out for America, to be inſpected by the officers of the *Caſa de Contratacion* in Seville, before it could receive a licence to make the voyage; and that on its return, a report of the commodities which it brought ſhould be made to the ſame board, before it could be permitted to land them. In conſequence of this regulation, all the trade of Spain with the New World centred in the port of Seville, and was gradually brought into a form, in which it has been conducted, with little variation, from the middle of the ſixteenth century almoſt to our own times. For the greater ſecurity of the valuable cargoes ſent to America, as well as for the more eaſy prevention of fraud, the commerce of Spain, with its colonies, is carried on by fleets which ſail under ſtrong convoys. Theſe fleets conſiſting of two ſquadrons, one diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Galeons*, the other by that of the *Flota*, are equipped annually. Formerly they took their departure from Seville; but as the port of Cadiz has been found more commodious, they have ſailed from it ſince the year 1720.

Carried on by the Galeons,

THE Galeons deſtined to ſupply Tierra Firmé, and the kingdoms of Peru and Chili, with almoſt every article of luxury, or neceſſary conſumption, that an opulent people can demand, touch firſt at

Carthagena,

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Carthagena, and then at Porto-bello. To the former, the merchants of Santa Martha, Caraccas, the New Kingdom of Granada, and ſeveral other provinces, reſort. The latter is the great mart for the rich commerce of Peru and Chili. At the ſeaſon when the Galeons are expected, the product of all the mines in theſe two kingdoms, together with their other valuable commodities, is tranſported by ſea to Panama. From thence, as ſoon as the appearance of the fleet from Europe is announced, they are conveyed acroſs the iſthmus, partly on mules, and partly down the river Chagre to Porto-bello. This paltry village, whoſe climate, from the pernicious union of exceſſive heat, continual moiſture, and the putrid exhalations ariſing from a rank ſoil, is more fatal to life than any perhaps in the known world, is immediately filled with people. From being the reſidence of a few negroes and mulattoes, and of a miſerable garriſon relieved every three months, its ſtreets are crowded with opulent merchants from every corner of Peru, and the adjacent provinces. A fair is opened, the wealth of America is exchanged for the manufactures of Europe; and, during its preſcribed term of forty days, the richeſt traffic on the face of the earth is begun and finiſhed, with that ſimplicity of tranſaction and unbounded confidence, which accompany extenſive commerce [z].

and Flota.

The Flota holds its courſe to Vera Cruz. The

[z] See NOTE LXIV.

treaſures

treasures and commodities of New Spain, and the depending provinces, which were deposited at Puebla de los Angeles in expectation of its arrival, are carried thither, and the commercial operations of Vera Cruz, conducted in the same manner with those of Porto-bello, are inferior to them only in importance and value. Both fleets, as soon as they have completed their cargoes from America, rendezvous at the Havanna, and return in company to Europe.

Bad effects of this arrangement.

THE trade of Spain with her colonies, while thus fettered and restricted, came necessarily to be conducted with the same spirit, and upon the same principles, as that of an exclusive company. Being confined to a single port, it was of course thrown into a few hands, and almost the whole of it was gradually engrossed by a small number of wealthy houses, formerly in Seville, and now in Cadiz. These by combinations, which they can easily form, may altogether prevent that competition which preserves commodities at their natural price; and by acting in concert, to which they are prompted by their mutual interest, they may raise or lower the value of them at pleasure. In consequence of this, the price of European goods in America is always high, and often exorbitant. A hundred, two hundred, and even three hundred per cent. are profits not uncommon in the commerce of Spain with her colonies[a]. From the

[a] B. Ulloa Retabliss. part ii. p. 191.

same

BOOK VIII. ſame ingroſſing ſpirit it frequently happens, that traders of the ſecond order, whoſe warehouſes do not contain a complete aſſortment of commodities for the American market, cannot purchaſe from the more opulent merchants, ſuch goods as they want, at a lower price than that for which they are ſold in the colonies. With the ſame vigilant jealouſy that an excluſive company guards againſt the intruſion of the free trader, thoſe overgrown monopoliſts endeavour to check the progreſs of every one whoſe encroachments they dread[b]. This reſtraint of the American commerce to one port, not only affects its domeſtic ſtate, but limits its foreign operations. A monopoliſt may acquire more, and certainly will hazard leſs, by a confined trade which yields exorbitant profit, than by an extenſive commerce in which he receives only a moderate return of gain. It is often his intereſt not to enlarge, but to circumſcribe the ſphere of his activity; and, inſtead of calling forth more vigorous exertions of commercial induſtry, it may be the object of his attention to check and ſet bounds to them. By ſome ſuch maxim, the mercantile policy of Spain ſeems to have regulated its intercourſe with America. Inſtead of furniſhing the colonies with European goods in ſuch quantity as might render both the price and the profit moderate; the merchants of Seville and Cadiz ſeem to have ſupplied them with a ſparing hand, that

[b] Smith's Inquiry, ii. 171. Campomanes, Educ. Popul. i. 438.

the

the eagerneſs of competition amongſt cuſtomers obliged to purchaſe in a ſcanty market, might enable their factors to diſpoſe of their cargoes with exorbitant gain. About the middle of the laſt century, when the excluſive trade to America from Seville was in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate, the burden of the two united ſquadrons of the Galeons and Flota, did not exceed twenty-ſeven thouſand five hundred tons [c]. The ſupply which ſuch a fleet could carry, muſt have been very inadequate to the demands of thoſe populous and extenſive colonies, which depended upon it for all the luxuries, and many of the neceſſaries of life.

Remedies propoſed.

SPAIN early became ſenſible of her declenſion from her former proſperity, and many reſpectable and virtuous citizens employed their thoughts in deviſing methods for reviving the decaying induſtry and commerce of their country. From the violence of the remedies propoſed, we may judge how deſperate and fatal the malady appeared. Some, confounding a violation of police with criminality againſt the ſtate, contended, that in order to check illicit commerce, every perſon convicted of carrying it on, ſhould be puniſhed with death, and confiſcation of all his effects [d]. Others, forgetting the diſtinction between civil offences and acts of impiety, inſiſted, that contraband trade

[c] Campomanes, Educ. Popul. i. 435. ii. 110.
[d] M. de Santa Cruz Commercia Suelto, p. 142.

BOOK VIII.

ſhould be ranked among the crimes reſerved for the cognizance of the Inquiſition; that ſuch as were guilty of it might be tried and puniſhed, according to the ſecret and ſummary form in which that dreadful tribunal exerciſes its juriſdiction[e]. Others, uninſtructed by obſerving the pernicious effects of monopolies in every country where they have been eſtabliſhed, have propoſed to veſt the trade with America in excluſive companies, which intereſt would render the moſt vigilant guardians of the Spaniſh commerce againſt the incroachment of the interlopers[f].

Beside theſe wild projects, many ſchemes, better digeſted and more beneficial, were ſuggeſted. But under the feeble monarchs, with whom the reign of the Auſtrian line in Spain cloſed, incapacity and indeciſion are conſpicuous in every department of government. Inſtead of taking for their model the active adminiſtration of Charles V. they affected to imitate the cautious procraſtinating wiſdom of Philip II. and deſtitute of his talents, they deliberated perpetually, but determined nothing. No remedy was applied to the evils under which the national commerce, domeſtic as well as foreign, languiſhed. Theſe evils continued to increaſe, and Spain, with dominions more extenſive and more opulent than any European ſtate, poſ-

[e] Moncada Reſtauracion politica de Eſpagna, p. 41.

[f] Zavalla y Augnon Repreſentacion, &c. p. 190.

ſeſſed

feſſed neither vigour, nor money [h], nor induſtry. At length, the violence of a great national convulſion rouzed the ſlumbering genius of Spain. The efforts of the two contending parties in the civil war, kindled by the diſpute concerning the ſucceſſion of the crown at the beginning of this century, called forth, in ſome degree, the ancient ſpirit and vigour of the nation. While men were thus forming, capable of adopting ſentiments more liberal than thoſe which had influenced the councils of the monarchy during the courſe of a century, Spain derived from an unexpected ſource the means of availing itſelf of their talents. The various powers who favoured the pretenſions either of the Auſtrian or Bourbon candidate for the Spaniſh throne, ſent formidable fleets and armies to their ſupport; France, England, and Holland remitted immenſe ſums to Spain. Theſe were ſpent in the provinces which became the theatre of war. Part of the American treaſure, of which foreigners had drained the kingdom, flowed back thither. From this æra, one of the moſt intelligent Spaniſh authors dates the revival of the monarchy; and, however humiliating the truth may be, he acknowledges, that it is to her enemies his country is indebted for the acquiſition of a fund of circulating ſpecie, in ſome meaſure adequate to the exigencies of the public [i].

[h] See NOTE LXV.

[i] Campomanes, i. 420.

BOOK VIII.

Step towards improvement by the Bourbon monarchs,

As ſoon as the Bourbons obtained quiet poſſeſſion of the throne, they diſcerned this change in the ſpirit of the people, and in the ſtate of the nation, and took advantage of it; for although that family has not given monarchs to Spain, remarkable for ſuperiority of genius, they have all been beneficent princes, attentive to the happineſs of their ſubjects, and ſolicitous to promote it. It was, accordingly, the firſt object of Philip V. to ſuppreſs an innovation which had crept in during the courſe of the war, and had overturned the whole ſyſtem of the Spaniſh commerce with America.

by excluding foreigners from trade with Peru;

The Engliſh and Dutch, by their ſuperiority in naval power, having acquired ſuch command of the ſea, as to cut off all intercourſe between Spain and her colonies, Spain, in order to furniſh her ſubjects in America thoſe neceſſaries of life, without which they could not exiſt, and as the only means of receiving from thence any part of their treaſure, departed ſo far from the uſual rigour of its maxims, as to open the trade with Peru to her allies the French. The merchants of St. Malo, to whom Louis XIV. granted the privilege of this lucrative commerce, engaged in it with vigour, and carried it on upon principles very different from thoſe of the Spaniards. They ſupplied Peru with European commodities at a moderate price, and not in ſtinted quantity. The goods which they imported were conveyed to every province of Spaniſh America, in ſuch abundance as had never been known in any former period. If

this

this intercourse had been continued, the exportation of European commodities from Spain must have ceased, and the dependence of the colonies on the mother-country have been at an end. The most peremptory injunctions were therefore issued, prohibiting the admission of foreign vessels into any port of Peru or Chili [k], and a Spanish squadron was employed to clear the South Sea of intruders, whose aid was no longer necessary.

1713.

But though, on the cessation of the war, which was terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, Spain obtained relief from one encroachment on her commercial system, she was exposed to another, which she deemed hardly less pernicious. As an inducement that might prevail with Queen Anne to conclude a peace, which France and Spain desired with equal ardour, Philip V. not only conveyed to Great Britain the *Assiento*, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, which had formerly been enjoyed by France, but granted it the more extraordinary privilege of sending annually to the fair of Porto-bello, a ship of five hundred tons, laden with European commodities. In consequence of this, British factories were established at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other Spanish settlements. The veil with which Spain had hitherto covered the state and transactions of her colonies was removed.

by checking contraband trade,

particularly of the English Assiento company,

[k] Frezier Voy. 256. B. Ulloa Retab. ii. 104, &c. Alcedo y Herrera. Aviso, &c. 236.

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The agents of a rival nation, reſiding in the towns of moſt extenſive trade, and of chief reſort, had the beſt opportunities of becoming acquainted with the interior condition of the American provinces, of obſerving their ſtated and occaſional wants, and of knowing what commodities might be imported into them with the greateſt advantage. In conſequence of information ſo authentic and expeditious, the merchants of Jamaica, and other Engliſh colonies who traded to the Spaniſh main, were enabled to aſſort and proportion their cargoes ſo exactly to the demands of the market, that the contraband commerce was carried on with a facility, and to an extent unknown in any former period. This, however, was not the moſt fatal conſequence of the Aſſiento to the trade of Spain. The agents of the Britiſh South-Sea company, under cover of the importation which they were authoriſed to make by the ſhip ſent annually to Porto-bello, poured in their commodities on the Spaniſh continent, without limitation or reſtraint. Inſtead of a ſhip of five hundred tons, as ſtipulated in the treaty, they uſually employed one which exceeded nine hundred tons in burden. She was accompanied by two or three ſmaller veſſels, which, mooring in ſome neighbouring creek, ſupplied her clandeſtinely with freſh bales of goods, to replace ſuch as were ſold. The inſpectors of the fair, and officers of the revenue, gained by exorbitant preſents, connived at the fraud[1]. Thus, partly by

[1] See NOTE LXVI.

the

the operations of the company, and partly by the activity of private interlopers, almoſt the whole trade of Spaniſh America was ingroſſed by foreigners. The immenſe commerce of the Galeons, formerly the pride of Spain, and the envy of other nations, ſunk to nothing, and the ſquadron itſelf reduced from fifteen thouſand to two thouſand tons [m], ſerved hardly any purpoſe but to fetch home the royal revenue ariſing from the fifth on ſilver.

BOOK VIII.

1737.

Guarda Coſtas employed for this purpoſe.

WHILE Spain obſerved thoſe encroachments, and felt ſo ſenſibly their pernicious effects, it was impoſſible not to make ſome effort to reſtrain them. Her firſt expedient was to ſtation ſhips of force, under the appellation of *Guarda Coſtas*, upon the coaſts of thoſe provinces, to which interlopers moſt frequently reſorted. As private intereſt concurred with the duty which they owed to the public, in rendering the officers who commanded thoſe veſſels vigilant and active, ſome check was given to the progreſs of the contraband trade, though in dominions ſo extenſive, and ſo acceſſible by ſea, no number of cruiſers was ſufficient to guard againſt its inroads in every quarter. This interruption of an intercourſe, which had been carried on with ſo much facility, that the merchants in the Britiſh colonies were accuſtomed to conſider it almoſt as an allowed branch of commerce, excited murmurs

[m] Alcedo y Herrera, p. 359. Campomanes, i. 436.

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and complaints. These authorised, in some measure, and rendered more interesting, by several unjustifiable acts of violence committed by the captains of the Spanish Guarda Costas, precipitated Great Britain into a war with Spain; in consequence of which the latter obtained a final release from the Assiento, and was left at liberty to regulate the commerce of her colonies, without being restrained by any engagement with a foreign power.

1739.

The use of register ships introduced.

As the formidable encroachments of the English on their American trade, had discovered to the Spaniards the vast consumption of European goods in their colonies, and taught them the advantage of accommodating their importations to the occasional demand of the various provinces, they perceived the necessity of devising some method of supplying their colonies, different from their ancient one, of sending thither periodical fleets. That mode of communication had been found not only to be uncertain, as the departure of the Galeons and Flota was sometimes retarded by various accidents, and often prevented by the wars which raged in Europe, but to be ill adapted to afford America a regular and timely supply of what it wanted. The scarcity of European goods in the Spanish settlements frequently became excessive; their price rose to an enormous height; the vigilant eye of mercantile attention did not fail to observe this favourable opportunity, an ample supply was

was poured in by interlopers from the Engliſh, the French, and Dutch iſlands; and when the Galeons at length arrived, they found the markets ſo glutted by this illicit commerce, that there was no demand for the commodities with which they were loaded. In order to remedy this, Spain permitted a conſiderable part of her commerce with America, to be carried on by *regiſter ſhips*. Theſe are fitted out, during the intervals between the ſtated ſeaſons when the Galeons and Flota ſail, by merchants in Seville or Cadiz, upon obtaining a licence from the council of the Indies, for which they pay a very high premium, and are deſtined for thoſe ports where any extraordinary demand is foreſeen or expected. By this expedient, ſuch a regular ſupply of freſh commodities is conveyed to the American market, that the interloper is no longer allured by the ſame proſpect of exceſſive gain, or the people in the colonies urged by the ſame neceſſity to engage in the hazardous adventures of contraband trade.

The Galeons aboliſhed.

In proportion as experience manifeſted the advantages of carrying on trade in this mode, the number of regiſter ſhips increaſed; and at length, in the year 1748, the Galeons, after having been employed upwards of two centuries, were finally laid aſide. From that period there has been no intercourſe with Chili and Peru but by ſingle ſhips, diſpatched from time to time as occaſion requires, and when the merchants expect a market will open. Theſe ſail round Cape Horn, and convey directly

to

BOOK VIII.

to the ports in the South Sea the productions and manufactures of Europe, for which the people, settled in those countries, were formerly obliged to repair to Porto-bello or Panama. These towns, as has been formerly observed, must gradually decline, when deprived of that commerce to which they owed their existence. This disadvantage however is more than compensated, for the whole continent of South America receives supplies of European commodities, with so much regularity, and in such abundance, as must contribute greatly to the happiness and prosperity of all the colonies settled there. But as all the register ships destined for the South Seas, must still take their departure from Cadiz, and are obliged to return thither[n], this branch of the American commerce, even in its new and improved form, continues subject to the restraints of a species of monopoly, and feels those pernicious effects of it, which I have already described.

Schemes for reviving commerce,

Nor has the attention of Spain been confined to regulating the trade with its more flourishing colonies, it has extended likewise to the reviving commerce in those settlements where it was neglected, or had decayed. Among the new tastes which the people of Europe have acquired, in consequence of their intercourse with the natives of those countries which they conquered in America, that for

[n] Campomanes, i. 434. 440.

chocolate

chocolate is one of the moſt univerſal. The uſe of this liquor made with a paſte, formed of the nut, or almond of the cacao-tree, compounded with various ingredients, the Spaniards firſt learned from the Mexicans; and it has appeared to them, and to the other European nations, ſo palatable, ſo nouriſhing, and ſo wholeſome, that it has become a commercial article of conſiderable importance. The cacao-tree grows ſpontaneouſly in ſeveral parts of the torrid zone; but the nuts of the beſt quality, next to thoſe of Guatimala, on the South Sea, are produced in the rich plains of Caraccas, a province of Tierra Firmè. In conſequence of this acknowledged ſuperiority in the quality of cacao in that province, and its communication with the Atlantic, which facilitates the conveyance to Europe, the culture of the cacao there is more extenſive than in any diſtrict of America. But the Dutch, by the vicinity of their ſettlements in the ſmall iſlands of Curazoa and Buen-Ayre, to the coaſt of Caraccas, gradually ingroſſed the greateſt part of the cacao trade. The traffic with the mother-country for this valuable commodity ceaſed almoſt entirely; and ſuch was the ſupine negligence of the Spaniards, or the defects of their commercial arrangements, that they were obliged to receive from the hands of foreigners this production of their own colonies, at an exorbitant price. In order to remedy an evil no leſs diſgraceful, than pernicious to his ſubjects, Philip V. in the year 1728, granted to a body of

by eſtabliſhing the company of Caraccas.

BOOK VIII.

merchants, an exclusive right to the commerce with Caraccas and Cumana, on condition of their employing, at their own expence, a sufficient number of armed vessels to clear the coast of interlopers. This society, distinguished sometimes by the name of the Company of Guipuscoa, from the province of Spain in which it is established, and sometimes by that of the Company of Caraccas, from the district of America to which it trades, has carried on its operations with such vigour and success, that Spain has recovered an important branch of commerce, which she had suffered to be wrested from her, and is plentifully supplied with an article of extensive consumption at a moderate price. Not only the parent state, but the colony of Caraccas, has derived great advantages from this institution; for although, at the first aspect, it may appear to be one of those monopolies, whose tendency is to check the spirit of industry, instead of calling it forth to new exertions, it has been prevented from operating in this manner, by several salutary regulations, framed upon foresight of such bad effects, and of purpose to obviate them. The planters in the Carraccas are not left to depend entirely on the company, either for the importation of European commodities, or the sale of their own productions. The inhabitants of the Canary islands have the privilege of sending thither annually a register ship of considerable burden; and from Vera Cruz in New Spain, a free trade is permitted in every port comprehended

hended in the charter of the company. In consequence of this, there is such a competition, that both with respect to what the colonies purchase, and what they sell, the price seems to be fixed at its natural and equitable rate. The company has not the power of raising the former, or degrading the latter at pleasure; and accordingly, since it was established, the increase of culture, of population, and of live stock, in the province of Caraccas, has been very considerable [a].

Enlargement of commercial ideas in Spain.

BUT as it is slowly that nations relinquish any system which time has rendered venerable, or that commerce can be diverted from the channel in which it has long been accustomed to flow; Philip V. in his new regulations concerning the American trade, paid such deference to the ancient maxim of Spain, concerning the limitation of all importation from the New World to one harbour, as to oblige both the register ships which returned from Peru, and those of the Guipuscoan Company from Caraccas, to deliver their cargoes in the port of Cadiz. Since his reign, sentiments more liberal and enlarged begin to spread in Spain. The spirit of philosophical inquiry, which it is the glory of the present age to have turned from frivolous or abstruse speculations, to the business and affairs of men, has extended its influenee beyond the Pyrenees. In the researches of ingenious

[a] See NOTE LXVII.

authors,

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authors, concerning the police or commerce of nations, the errors and defects of the Spanish system with respect to both met every eye, and have not only been exposed with severity, but are held up as a warning to other states. The Spaniards, stung with the reproaches of these authors, or convinced by their arguments, and admonished by several enlightened writers of their own country, seem at length to have discovered the destructive tendency of those narrow maxims, which, by cramping commerce in all its operations, have so long retarded its progress. It is to the monarch now on the throne, that Spain is indebted for the first public regulation formed in consequence of such enlarged ideas.

Establishment of regular packet boats.

WHILE Spain adhered with rigour to her ancient maxims concerning her commerce with America, she was so much afraid of opening any channel, by which an illicit trade might find admission into the colonies, that she almost shut herself out from any intercourse with them, but that which was carried on by her annual fleets. There was no establishment for a regular communication of either public or private intelligence, between the mother-country and its American settlements. From the want of this necessary institution, the operations of the state, as well as the business of individuals, were retarded or conducted unskilfully, and Spain often received from foreigners her first information with respect to very interesting events

events in her own colonies. But though this defect in police was ſenſibly felt, and the remedy for it was obvious, that jealous ſpirit with which the Spaniſh monarchs guarded the excluſive trade, reſtrained them from applying it. At length Charles III. ſurmounted thoſe conſiderations which had deterred his predeceſſors, and in the year 1764 appointed packet-boats to be diſpatched on the firſt day of each month, from Corugna to the Havanna or Porto-Rico. From thence letters are conveyed in ſmaller veſſels to Vera Cruz and Porto-bello, and tranſmitted by poſt through the kingdoms of Tierra Firmè, Granada, Peru, and New Spain. With no leſs regularity packet-boats ſail once in two months to Rio de la Plata, for the accommodation of the provinces to the eaſt of the Andes. Thus proviſion is made for a ſpeedy and certain circulation of intelligence throughout the vaſt dominions of Spain, from which equal advantages muſt redound to the political and mercantile intereſt of the kingdom [p]. With this new arrangement, a ſcheme of extending commerce has been more immediately connected. Each of the packet-boats, which are veſſels of ſome conſiderable burden, is allowed to take in half a loading of ſuch commodities as are the product of Spain, and moſt in demand in the ports whither they are bound. In return for theſe they may bring home to Co-

[p] Ponz Viage de Eſpagna, vi. Prol. p. 15.

BOOK VIII.

rugna an equal quantity of American productions[q]. This may be considered as the first relaxations of those rigid laws, which confined the trade with the New World to a single port, and the first attempt to admit the rest of the kingdom to some share in it.

Free trade permitted to several provinces.

It was soon followed by one more decisive. In the year 1765, Charles III. laid open the trade to the windward islands, Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto-Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad, to his subjects in every province of Spain. He permitted them to sail from certain ports in each of these, specified in the edict, at any season, and with whatever cargo they deemed most proper, without any other warrant than a simple clearance from the custom-house of the place whence they took their departure. He released them from the numerous and oppressive duties imposed on goods exported to America, and in place of the whole substituted a moderate tax of six in the hundred on the commodities sent from Spain. He allowed them to return either to the same port, or to any other where they might hope for a more advantageous market, and there to enter the homeward cargo, on payment of the usual duties. This ample privilege, which at once broke through all the fences which the jealous policy of Spain had been labour-

[q] Append. ii. a la Educ. Pop. p. 31.

ing, for two centuries and a half, to throw round its commercial intercourſe with the New World, was ſoon after extended to Louiſiana, and to the provinces of Yucatan and Campeachy [r].

Beneficial effects of it.

THE propriety of this innovation, which may be conſidered as the moſt liberal effort of Spaniſh legiſlation, has appeared from its effects. Prior to the edict in favour of the free trade, Spain derived hardly any benefit from its neglected colonies in Hiſpaniola, Porto-Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad. Its commerce with Cuba was inconſiderable, and that of Yucatan and Campeachy was engroſſed almoſt intirely by interlopers. But as ſoon as a general liberty of trade was permitted, the intercourſe with thoſe provinces revived, and has gone on with a rapidity of progreſſion, of which there are few examples in the hiſtory of nations. In leſs than ten years, the trade of Cuba has been more than tripled. Even in thoſe ſettlements where, from the languiſhing ſtate of induſtry, greater efforts were requiſite to reſtore its activity, their commerce has been doubled. It is computed, that ſuch a number of ſhips is already employed in the free trade, that the tonnage of them far exceeds that of the Galeons and Flota, at the moſt flouriſhing æra of their commerce. The benefits of this arrangement are not confined to a few merchants, eſtabliſhed in a favourite port. They are diffuſed

[r] Append. ii. a la Educ. Pop. 37. 54. 91.

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through every province of the kingdom; and by opening a new market for their various productions and manufactures, muſt encourage and add vivacity to the induſtry of the farmer and artificer. Nor does the kingdom profit only by what it exports, it derives advantage likewiſe from what it receives in return, and has the proſpect of being ſoon able to ſupply itſelf with ſeveral commodities of extenſive conſumption, for which it formerly depended on foreigners. The conſumption of ſugar in Spain is perhaps as great in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, as that of any European kingdom. But though poſſeſſed of countries in the New World, whoſe ſoil and climate are moſt proper for rearing the ſugar-cane; though the domeſtic culture of that valuable plant in the kingdom of Granada was once conſiderable; ſuch has been the fatal tendency of ill-judged inſtitutions in America, and ſuch the preſſure of improper taxes in Europe, that Spain has loſt almoſt entirely this branch of induſtry, which has enriched other nations. This commodity, which has now become an article of primary neceſſity in Europe, the Spaniards were obliged to purchaſe of foreigners, and had the mortification to ſee their country drained annually of an immenſe ſum on that account[a]. But if that ſpirit, which the permiſſion of free trade has put in motion, ſhall perſevere in its efforts with the ſame vigour, the cultivation of ſugar in Cuba and Porto-Rico may increaſe ſo

[a] Uztariz, c. 94.

much,

much, that in a few years their growth may be equal to the demand of the kingdom.

Free trade permitted beeween the colonies.

SPAIN has been induced, by her experience of the beneficial conſequences reſulting from having relaxed ſomewhat of the rigour of her ancient laws with reſpect to the commerce of the mother-country with the colonies, to permit a more liberal intercourſe of one colony with another. By one of the jealous maxims of the old ſyſtem, all the provinces ſituated on the South Seas were prohibited, under the moſt ſevere penalties, from holding any communication with one another. Though each of theſe yield peculiar productions, the reciprocal exchange of which might have added to the happineſs of their reſpective inhabitants, or have facilitated their progreſs in induſtry, ſo ſolicitous was the Council of the Indies, to prevent their receiving any ſupply of their wants, but by the periodical fleets from Europe, that in order to guard againſt this, it cruelly debarred the Spaniards in Peru, in New Spain, in Guatimala, and the New Kingdom of Granada, from ſuch a correſpondence with their fellow-ſubjects, as tended manifeſtly to their mutual proſperity. Of all the numerous reſtrictions deviſed by Spain for ſecuring the excluſive trade with her American ſettlements, none perhaps was more illiberal, none ſeems to have been more ſenſibly felt, or to have produced more hurtful effects. This grievance, coeval with the ſettlements of Spain in the New World, is at laſt redreſſed.

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dreſſed. In the year 1774, Charles III. publiſhed an edict, granting to the four vaſt provinces which I have mentioned, the privilege of a free trade with each other [r]. What may be the effects of opening this communication between countries deſtined by their ſituation for reciprocal intercourſe, cannot yet be determined by experience. They can hardly fail of being beneficial and extenſive. The motives for granting this permiſſion are manifeſtly no leſs laudable, than the principle on which it is founded is liberal; and both diſcover the progreſs of a ſpirit in Spain, far elevated above the narrow prejudices and maxims on which her ſyſtem for regulating the trade, and conducting the government of her colonies, was originally founded.

New regulations concerning the government of the colonies.

At the ſame time that Spain has been intent on introducing regulations, ſuggeſted by more enlarged views of policy, into her ſyſtem of American commerce, ſhe has not been inattentive to the interior government of her colonies. Here too there was much room for reformation and improvement, and Don Joſeph Galvez, who has now the direction of the department for Indian affairs in Spain, has enjoyed the beſt opportunities, not only of obſerving the defects and corruption in the political frame of the colonies, but of diſcovering the ſources of thoſe evils. After being employed

[r] Real Cedula penes me. Pontz Viage de Eſpagna, vi. Prologo. p. 2. NOTE LXVIII.

ſeven years in the New World on an extraordinary miſſion, and with very extenſive powers, as inſpector-general of New Spain; after viſiting in perſon the remote provinces of Cinaloa, Sonora, and California, and making ſeveral important alterations in the ſtate of their police and revenue; he began his miniſtry with a general reformation of the tribunals of juſtice in America. In conſequence of the progreſs of population and wealth in the colonies, the buſineſs of the Courts of Audience has increaſed ſo much, that the number of judges of which they were originally compoſed, has been found inadequate to the growing labours and duties of the office, and the ſalaries ſettled upon them inferior to the dignity of the ſtation. As a remedy for both, he obtained a royal edict, eſtabliſhing an additional number of judges in each court of Audience, with higher titles, and more ample appointments [u].

Reformation of the courts of juſtice.

To the ſame intelligent miniſter Spain is indebted for a new diſtribution of government in its American provinces. Even ſince the eſtabliſhment of a third viceroyalty in the New Kingdom of Granada, ſo great is the extent of the Spaniſh dominions in the New World, that ſeveral places ſubject to the juriſdiction of each viceroy, were at ſuch an enormous diſtance from the capitals in which they reſided, that neither their attention, nor

New diſtribution of governments.

[u] Gazeta de Madrid, 19th March, 1776.

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their authority, could reach ſo far. Some provinces ſubordinate to the viceroy of New Spain, lay above two thouſand miles from Mexico. There were countries ſubject to the viceroy of Peru ſtill farther from Lima. The people in thoſe remote diſtricts could hardly be ſaid to enjoy the benefit of civil government. The oppreſſion and inſolence of its inferior miniſters they often feel, and rather ſubmit to theſe in ſilence, than involve themſelves in the expence and trouble of reſorting to the diſtant capitals, where alone they can find redreſs.

New vice-royalty, Aug. 1776, on Rio de la Plata.

As a remedy for this, a fourth vice-royalty has been erected, to the juriſdiction of which are ſubjected the provinces of Rio de la Plata, Buenos-Ayres, Paraguay, Tucuman, Potoſi, Sta Cruz de la Sierra, Charcas, and the towns of Mendoza and St. Juan. By this well judged arrangement, two advantages are gained. All the inconveniencies occaſioned by the remote ſituation of thoſe provinces which had been long felt, and long complained of, are removed. The countries moſt diſtant from Lima are ſeparated from the viceroyalty of Peru, and united under a ſuperior, whoſe ſeat of government at Buenos-Ayres, will be commodious and acceſſible. The contraband trade with the Portugueſe, which was become ſo extenſive, as muſt have put a final ſtop to the exportation of commodities from Spain to her ſouthern colonies, may be checked more thoroughly, and with greater facility, when the ſupreme magiſtrate, by his vicinity to the places in which it is carried on, can

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view its progreſs and effects with his own eyes. Don Pedro Zevallos, who has been raiſed to this new dignity, with appointments equal to thoſe of the other viceroys, is well acquainted both with the ſtate and the intereſt of the countries over which he is to preſide, having ſerved in them long, and with diſtinction. By this diſmemberment, ſucceeding that which took place at the erection of the viceroyalty of the New Kingdom of Granada, almoſt two-third parts of the territories, originally ſubject to the viceroys of Peru, are now lopped off from their juriſdiction.

New government in provinces of Sonora, &c.

The limits of the viceroyalty of New Spain have likewiſe been conſiderably circumſcribed, and with no leſs propriety and diſcernment. Four of its moſt remote provinces, Sonora, Cinaloa, California, and New Navarre, have been formed into a ſeparate government. The Chevalier de Croix, who is intruſted with this command, is not dignified with the title of viceroy, nor does he enjoy the appointments belonging to that rank, but his juriſdiction is altogether independent on the viceroyalty of New Spain. The erection of this laſt government ſeems to have been ſuggeſted, not only by the conſideration of the remote ſituation of thoſe provinces from Mexico; but by attention to the late diſcoveries made there, which I have mentioned[x]. Countries containing ſuch riches, and

[x] Book vii. p. 226.

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which probably may riſe into ſuch importance, required the immediate inſpection of a governor, to whom they were ſpecially committed. As every conſideration of duty, of intereſt, and of vanity, muſt concur in prompting thoſe new governors to encourage ſuch exertions as tend to diffuſe opulence and proſperity through the provinces committed to their charge, the beneficial effects of this arrangement may be conſiderable. Many diſtricts in America, long depreſſed by the languor and feebleneſs natural to provinces which compoſe the extremities of an overgrown empire, may be animated with vigour, and activity when brought ſo near the ſeat of power, as to feel its invigorating influence.

Attempts to reform domeſtic policy.

SUCH, ſince the acceſſion of the Bourbons to the throne of Spain, has been the progreſs of their regulations, and the gradual expanſion of their views with reſpect to the commerce and government of their American colonies. Nor has their attention been ſo entirely engroſſed by what related to the more remote parts of their dominions, as to render them neglectful of what was ſtill more important, the reformation of domeſtic errors and defects in policy. Fully ſenſible of the cauſes to which the declenſion of Spain, from her former proſperity, ought to be imputed; they have made it a great object of their policy, to revive a ſpirit of induſtry among their ſubjects, and to give ſuch extent and perfection to their manufactures, that they may be

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able to ſupply the demands of America from their own ſtock, and to exclude foreigners from a branch of commerce which has been ſo fatal to the kingdom. This they have endeavoured to accompliſh, by a variety of edicts iſſued ſince the peace of Utrecht. They have granted bounties for the encouragement of ſome branches of induſtry; they have lowered the taxes on others; they have prohibited, or have loaded with additional duties, ſuch foreign manufactures as come in competition with their own; they have inſtituted ſocieties for the improvement of trade and agriculture; they have planted colonies of huſbandmen in ſome uncultivated diſtricts of Spain, and divided among them the waſte fields; they have had recourſe to every expedient, deviſed by commercial wiſdom, or commercial jealouſy, for reviving their own induſtry, and diſcountenancing that of other nations. Theſe, however, it is not my province to explain, or to inquire into their propriety and effects. There is no effort of legiſlation more arduous, no experiment in policy more uncertain, than an attempt to revive the ſpirit of induſtry where it has declined, or to introduce it where it is unknown. Nations, already poſſeſſed of extenſive commerce, enter into competition with ſuch advantages, derived from the large capitals of their merchants, the dexterity of their manufacturers, the alertneſs acquired by habit in every department of buſineſs, that the ſtate which aims at rivalling, or ſupplanting them, muſt expect to ſtruggle with many difficulties, and be

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be content to advance ſlowly. If the quantity of productive induſtry, now in Spain, be compared with that of the kingdom under the laſt liſtleſs monarchs of the Auſtrian line, its progreſs muſt appear conſiderable, and is ſufficient to alarm the jealouſy, and to call forth the moſt vigorous efforts, of the nations now in poſſeſſion of the lucrative trade which the Spaniards aim at wreſting from them. One circumſtance may render thoſe exertions of Spain an object of more ſerious attention to the other European powers. They are not to be aſcribed wholly to the influence of the crown and its miniſters. The ſentiments and ſpirit of the people ſeem to ſecond the provident care of their monarchs, and to give it greater effect. The nation has adopted more liberal ideas, not only with reſpect to commerce, but domeſtic policy. In all the later Spaniſh writers, defects in the arrangements of their country concerning both are acknowledged, and remedies propoſed, which ignorance rendered their anceſtors incapable of diſcerning, and pride would not have allowed them to confeſs [x]. But after all that the Spaniards have done, much remains to do. Many pernicious inſtitutions and abuſes, deeply incorporated with the ſyſtem of internal policy and taxation, which has been long eſtabliſhed in Spain, muſt be aboliſhed, before induſtry and manufactures can recover an extenſive activity.

[x] See NOTE LXIX.

Contraband trade.

STILL, however, the commercial regulations of Spain with reſpect to her colonies, are too rigid and ſyſtematical to be carried into complete execution. The legiſlature that loads trade with impoſitions too heavy, or fetters it by reſtrictions too ſevere, defeats its own intention; and, in truth, is only multiplying the inducements to violate its ſtatutes, and propoſing an high premium to encourage illicit traffic. The Spaniards, both in Europe and America, circumſcribed in their mutual intercourſe by the jealouſy, or oppreſſed by the exactions of the crown, have their invention continually on the ſtretch how to elude its edicts. The vigilance and ingenuity of private intereſt diſcover means of effecting this, which public wiſdom cannot foreſee, nor public authority prevent. This ſpirit, counteracting that of the laws, pervades the commerce of Spain with America in all its branches; and from the higheſt departments in government, deſcends to the loweſt. The very officers appointed to check contraband trade, are often employed as inſtruments in carrying it on; and the boards inſtituted to reſtrain and puniſh it, are the channels through which it flows. The king is ſuppoſed to be defrauded by various artificers, of more than one half of the revenue which he ought to receive from America[y]; and as long as it is the intereſt of ſo many perſons to ſcreen thoſe artifices from detection, the knowledge of them will never reach the throne. "How many

[y] Solorz. de Ind. Jure, ii. lib. v.

"ordinances,

"ordinances, ſays Corita, how many inſtructions, "how many letters from our ſovereign, are ſent "in order to correct abuſes, and how little are "they obſerved, and what ſmall advantage is de- "rived from them! To me the old obſervation "appears juſt, that where there are many phyſi- "cians, and many medicines, there is a want of "health; where there are many laws, and many "judges, there is want of juſtice. We have "viceroys, preſidents, governors, oydors, corri- "gidors, alcaldes, and thouſands of alguazils "abound every where; but notwithſtanding all "theſe, public abuſes continue to multiply[z]." Time has increaſed the evils which he lamented as early as the reign of Philip II. A ſpirit of corruption has infected all the colonies of Spain in America. Men far removed from the ſeat of government; impatient to acquire wealth, that they may return ſpeedily from what they are apt to conſider as a ſtate of exile in a remote unhealthful country; allured by opportunities too tempting to be reſiſted, and ſeduced by the example of thoſe around them; find their ſentiments of honour and of duty gradually relax. In private life, they give themſelves up to a diſſolute luxury, while in their public conduct they become unmindful of what they owe to their ſovereign and to their country.

[z] MS. penes me.

Trade between New Spain and the Philippines.

BEFORE I close this account of the Spanish trade in America, there remains one detached, but important branch of it, to be mentioned. Soon after his accession to the throne, Philip II. formed a scheme of planting a colony in the Philippine islands, which had been neglected since the time of their discovery; and he accomplished it by means of an armament fitted out from New Spain[b]. 1564. Manila, in the island of Luconia, was the station chosen for the capital of this new establishment. From it an active commercial intercourse began with the Chinese, and a considerable number of that industrious people, allured by the prospect of gain, settled in the Philippines under the Spanish protection. They supplied the colony so amply with all the valuable productions and manufactures of the East, as enabled it to open a trade with America, by a course of navigation, the longest from land to land on our globe. In the infancy of this trade, it was carried on with Callao, on the coast of Peru; but experience having discovered the impropriety of fixing upon that as the port of communication with Manila, the staple of the commerce between the east and west was removed from Callao to Acapulco, on the coast of New Spain.

AFTER various arrangements, it has been brought into a regular form. One or two ships depart annually from Acapulco, which may carry out silver

[b] Torquem. i. lib. v. c. 14.

to

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to the amount of five hundred thouſand peſos [c]; but have hardly any thing elſe of value on board; in return for which, they bring back ſpices, drugs, china, and japan wares, calicoes, chintz, muſlins, ſilks, and every precious article, with which the benignity of the climate, or the ingenuity of its people, has enabled the Eaſt to ſupply the reſt of the world. For ſome time the merchants of Peru were admitted to participate in this traffic, and might ſend annually a ſhip to Acapulco, to wait the arrival of the veſſels from Manila, and receive a proportional ſhare of the commodities which they imported. At length, the Peruvians were excluded by moſt rigorous edicts, and all the commodities from the Eaſt reſerved ſolely for the conſumption of New Spain.

In conſequence of this indulgence, the inhabitants of that country enjoy advantages unknown in the other Spaniſh colonies. The manufactures of the Eaſt are not only more ſuited to a warm climate, and more ſhowy than thoſe of Europe, but can be ſold at a lower price; while, at the ſame time, the profits upon them are ſo conſiderable, as to enrich all thoſe who are employed, either in bringing them from Manila, or vending them in New Spain. As the intereſt both of the buyer and ſeller concurred in favouring this branch of commerce, it has continued to extend in ſpite

[c] Recop. lib. ix. c. 45. l. 6.

of regulations, concerted with the moſt anxious jealouſy to circumſcribe it. Under cover of what the laws permit to be imported, vaſt quantities of India goods are poured into the markets of New Spain [d], and when the flota arrives at Vera Cruz, it often finds the wants of the people already ſupplied by cheaper and more acceptable commodities.

THERE is not, in the commercial arrangements of Spain, any circumſtance more inexplicable than the permiſſion of this trade between New Spain and the Philippines, or more repugnant to its fundamental maxim of holding the colonies in perpetual dependance on the mother-country, by prohibiting any commercial intercourſe that might ſuggeſt to them the idea of receiving a ſupply of their wants from any other quarter. This permiſſion muſt appear ſtill more extraordinary, from conſidering that Spain herſelf carries on no direct trade with her ſettlements in the Philippines, and grants a privilege to one of her American colonies, which ſhe denies to her ſubjects in Europe. It is probable, that the coloniſts who originally took poſſeſſion of the Philippines, having been ſent out from New Spain, begun this intercourſe with a country which they conſidered, in ſome meaſure, as their parent ſtate, before the court of Madrid was aware of its conſequences, or could eſtabliſh

[d] See NOTE LXX.

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regulations in order to prevent it. Many remonſtrances have been preſented againſt this trade, as detrimental to Spain, by diverting into another channel, a large portion of that treaſure which ought to flow into the kingdom, as tending to give riſe to a ſpirit of independence in the colonies, and to encourage innumerable frauds, againſt which it is impoſſible to guard, in tranſactions ſo far removed from the inſpection of government. But as it requires no ſlight effort of political wiſdom and vigour to aboliſh any practice which numbers are intereſted in ſupporting, and to which time has added the ſanction of its authority, the commerce between New Spain and Manila ſeems to be as conſiderable as ever, and may be conſidered as one chief cauſe of the elegance and ſplendor conſpicuous in this part of the Spaniſh dominions.

Public revenue from America.

BUT, notwithſtanding this general corruption in the colonies, and all the defalcations of the public revenue, by the illicit importation of foreign commodities, or by the fraudulent arts of their own ſubjects, the Spaniſh monarchs receive a very conſiderable ſum from their American dominions. This ariſes from taxes of various kinds, which may be divided into three capital branches. The firſt contains what is paid to the king, as ſovereign, or ſuperior lord of the New World: to this claſs belongs the duty on the gold and ſilver raiſed from the mines, and the tribute exacted from the

Indians;

Indians; the former is termed by the Spaniards the *right of ſigniory*, the latter is the *duty of vaſſalage*. The ſecond branch comprehends the numerous duties upon commerce, which accompany and oppreſs it in every ſtep of its progreſs, from the greateſt tranſactions of the wholeſale merchant, to the petty traffic of the vender by retail. The third includes what accrues to the king, as head of the church, and adminiſtrator of eccleſiaſtical funds in the New World. In conſequence of this he receives the firſt-fruits, annats, ſpoils, and other ſpiritual revenues, levied by the apoſtolic chamber in Europe; and is entitled, likewiſe, to the profit ariſing from the ſale of the bull of Cruzado. This bull, which is publiſhed every two years, contains, an abſolution from paſt offences by the pope, and, among other immunities, a permiſſion to eat ſeveral kinds of prohibited food, during Lent, and on meagre days. The monks employed in diſperſing thoſe bulls, extol their virtues with all the fervour of intereſted eloquence; the people, ignorant and credulous, liſten with implicit aſſent; and every perſon in the Spaniſh colonies, of European, Creolian, or mixed race, purchaſes a bull, which is deemed eſſential to his ſalvation, at the rate ſet upon it by government[e].

Its amount.

WHAT may be the amount of thoſe various funds, it is almoſt impoſſible to determine with preci-

[e] See NOTE LXXI.

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sion. The extent of the Spanish dominions in America, the jealousy of government, which renders them inaccessible to foreigners, the mysterious silence which the Spaniards are accustomed to observe with respect to the interior state of their colonies, combine in covering this subject with a veil which it is not easy to remove. But an account, apparently no less accurate than it is curious, has lately been published of the royal revenue in New Spain, from which we may form some idea with respect to what is collected in the other provinces. According to that account, the crown does not receive from all the departments of taxation in New Spain above a million of our money, from which one half must be deducted as the expence of the provincial establishment [f]. Peru, it is probable, yields a sum not inferior to this, and if we suppose that all the other regions of America, including the islands, furnish a third share of equal value; we shall not perhaps be far wide from the truth, if we conclude, that the net public revenue of Spain, raised in America, does not exceed a million and a half sterling. This falls far short of the immense sums to which suppositions, founded upon conjecture, have raised the Spanish revenue in America [g]. It is remarkable, however, upon one account. Spain and Portugal are the only European powers, who derive a direct revenue from their colonies, as their quota towards defraying the general expence of

[f] See NOTE LXXII. [g] See NOTE LXXIII.

government.

government. All the advantage that accrues to other nations, from their American dominions, arifes from the exclufive enjoyment of their trade; but befide this, Spain has brought her colonies to contribute towards increafing the power of the ftate; and in return for protection, to bear a proportional fhare of the common burden.

Accordingly, what I have computed as the amount of the Spanifh revenue from America, comprehends only the taxes collected there, and is far from being the whole of what accrues to the king from his dominions in the New World. The heavy duties impofed on the commodities exported from Spain to America [h], as well as what is paid by thofe which fhe fends home in return; the tax upon the negroe-flaves, with which Africa fupplies the New World, together with feveral fmaller branches of finance, bring large fums into the treafury, the precife extent of which I cannot pretend to afcertain.

Expence of adminiftration.

But if the revenue which Spain draws from America be great, the expence of adminiftration in her colonies bears proportion to it. In every department, even of her domeftic police and finances, Spain has adopted a fyftem more complex, and more encumbered with a variety of tribunals, and a multitude of officers, than that of

[h] See NOTE LXXIV.

 any

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any European nation, in which the sovereign possesses such extensive power. From the jealous spirit with which Spain watches over her American settlements, and her endeavours to guard against fraud in provinces so remote from inspection; boards and officers have been multiplied there with still more anxious attention. In a country where the expence of living is great, the salaries allotted to every person in public office must be high, and must load the revenue with an immense burden. The parade of government greatly augments the weight of it. The viceroys of Mexico, Peru, and the New Kingdom of Granada, as representatives of the king's person, among people fond of ostentation, maintain all the state and dignity of royalty. Their courts are formed upon the model of that at Madrid, with horse and foot guards, a household regularly established, numerous attendants, and ensigns of power, displaying such pomp, as hardly retains the appearance of a delegated authority. All the expence incurred by supporting the external and permanent order of government is defrayed by the crown. The viceroys have besides peculiar appointments suited to their exalted station. The salaries fixed by law are indeed extremely moderate, that of the viceroy of Peru is only thirty thousand ducats [1]. Of late, they have been raised to forty thousand.

[1] Recop. lib. iii. tit. iii. c. 72.

THESE

These salaries, however, constitute but a small part of the viceroy's revenue. The exercise of an absolute authority extending to every department of government, and the power of disposing of many lucrative offices, afford them innumerable opportunities of accumulating wealth. To these, which may be considered as legal and allowed emoluments, vast sums are often added by exactions, which in countries so far removed from the seat of government, it is not easy to discover, and impossible to restrain. By monopolizing some branches of commerce, by a lucrative concern in others, by conniving at the frauds of merchants, a viceroy may raise such an annual revenue, as no subject of any European monarch enjoys [k]. From the single article of presents made to him on the anniversary of his *Name-day* (which is always observed as an high festival), I am informed that a viceroy has been known to receive sixty thousand pesos. According to a Spanish saying, the legal revenues of a viceroy are known, his real profits depend upon his opportunities and his conscience. Sensible of this, the kings of Spain, as I have formerly observed, grant a commission to their viceroys only for a few years. This circumstance, however, renders them often more rapacious, and adds to the ingenuity and ardour wherewith they labour to improve every moment of power which they know is hastening fast to a period; and short

[k] See NOTE LXXV.

BOOK VIII. as its duration is, it uſually affords ſufficient time for repairing a ſhattered fortune, or for creating a new one. But even in ſituations ſo trying to human frailty, there are inſtances of virtue that remains unſeduced. In the year 1772, the Marquis de Croix finiſhed the term of his viceroyalty in New Spain with unſuſpected integrity; and inſtead of bringing home exorbitant wealth, returned with the admiration and applauſe of a grateful people, whom his government had rendered happy.

NOTES

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ILLUSTRATIONS.

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NOTE I. p. 1.

IN tracing the progreſs of the Spaniſh arms in New Spain, we have followed Cortes himſelf as our moſt certain guide. His diſpatches to the emperor contain a minute account of his operations. But the unlettered conqueror of Peru was incapable of relating his own exploits. Our information with reſpect to them, and other tranſactions in Peru, is derived however from contemporary and reſpectable authors.

THE moſt early account of Pizarro's tranſactions in Peru, was publiſhed by Franciſco de Xerez, his ſecretary. It is a ſimple unadorned narrative, carried down no farther than the death of Atahualpa, in 1533; for the author returned to Spain in 1534, and ſoon after he landed, printed at Seville his ſhort Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of Peru, addreſſed to the emperor.

DON PEDRO SANCHO, an officer who ſerved under Pizarro, drew up an account of his expedition, which was tranſlated into Italian by Ramuſio, and inſerted in his valuable collection, but has never been publiſhed in its original language. Sancho returned to Spain at the ſame time with Xerez. Great credit is due to what both thoſe authors relate concerning the progreſs and operations of

Pizarro;

Pizarro; but the residence of the Spaniards in Peru had been so short, at the time when they left it, and their intercourse with the natives so slender, that their knowledge of the Peruvian manners and customs is very imperfect.

The next contemporary historian is Pedro Cieza de Leon, who published his Cronica del Peru, at Seville, in 1553. If he had finished all that he proposes in the general division of his work, it would have been the most complete history which had been published of any region in the New World. He was well qualified to execute it, having served during seventeen years in America, and visited in person most of the provinces concerning which he had occasion to write. But only the first part of his Chronicle has been printed. It contains a description of Peru, and several of the adjacent provinces, with an account of the institutions and customs of the natives, and is written with so little art, and such an apparent regard for truth, that one must regret the loss of the other parts of his work.

This loss is amply supplied by Don Augustine Zaratè, who published, in 1555, his Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquesta de la Provincia del Peru. Zaratè was a man of rank and education, and employed in Peru as comptroller-general of the public revenue. His history, whether we attend to its matter or composition, is a book of considerable merit; as he had opportunity to be well informed, and seems to have been inquisitive with respect to the manners and transactions of the Peruvians, great credit is due to his testimony.

Don Diego Fernandez published his Historia del Peru, in 1571. His sole object is to relate the dissensions and civil wars of the Spaniards in that empire. As he served

in a public ſtation in Peru, and was well acquainted both with the country, and with the principal actors in thoſe ſingular ſcenes which he deſcribes, as he poſſeſſed ſound underſtanding, and great impartiality, his work may be ranked among thoſe of the hiſtorians moſt diſtinguiſhed for their induſtry in reſearch, or their capacity in judging with reſpect to the events which they relate.

The laſt author who can be reckoned among the contemporary hiſtorians of the conqueſt of Peru, is Garcilaſſo de la Vega, Inca. For though the firſt part of his work, intitled, *Commentarios Reales del Origen de los Incas Reies del Peru*, was not publiſhed ſooner than the year 1609, ſeventy-ſix years after the death of Atahualpa the laſt emperor, yet as he was born in Peru, and was the ſon of an officer of diſtinction among the Spaniſh conquerors, by a *Coya*, or lady of the royal race, on account of which he always took the name of *Inca*, as he was maſter of the language ſpoken by the Incas, and acquainted with the traditions of his countrymen, his authority is rated very high, and often placed above that of all the other hiſtorians. His work, however, is little more than a commentary upon the Spaniſh writers of the Peruvian ſtory, and compoſed of quotations taken from the authors whom I have mentioned. This is the idea which he himſelf gives of it, Lib. i. c. 10. Nor is it in the account of facts only that he follows them ſervilely. Even in explaining the inſtitutions and rites of his anceſtors, his information ſeems not to be more perfect than theirs. His explanation of the Quipos is almoſt the ſame with that of Acoſta. He produces no ſpecimen of Peruvian poetry, but that wretched one which he borrows from Blas Valera, an early miſſionary, whoſe memoirs have never been publiſhed. Lib. ii. c. 15. As for compoſition, arrangement, or a capacity of diſtinguiſhing be-

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tween what is fabulous, what is probable, and what is true, one ſearches for them in vain in the commentaries of the Inca. His work, however, notwithſtanding its great defects, is not altogether deſtitute of uſe. Some traditions which he received from his countrymen are preſerved in it. His knowledge of the Peruvian language has enabled him to correct ſome errors of the Spaniſh writers, and he has inſerted in it ſome curious facts, taken from authors whoſe works were never publiſhed, and are now loſt.

NOTE II. p. 7.

ONE may form an idea both of the hardſhips which they endured, and of the ſicklineſs of the regions which they viſited, from the extraordinary mortality that prevailed among them. Pizarro carried out 112 men, Almagro 70. In leſs than nine months 130 of theſe died. Few fell by the ſword; moſt of them were cut off by diſeaſes. Xerez, p. 180.

NOTE III. p. 11.

THIS iſland, ſays Herrera, is rendered ſo uncomfortable by the unwholeſomeneſs of its climate, its impenetrable woods, its rugged mountains, and the multitude of inſects and reptiles, that it is ſeldom any ſofter epithet than that of *infernal* is employed in deſcribing it. The ſun is almoſt never ſeen there, and throughout the year it hardly ever ceaſes to rain. Dec. 3. lib. x. c. 3. Dampier touched at this iſland in the year 1685; and his account of the climate is not more favourable. Vol. i. p. 172. He, during his cruiſe on the coaſt, viſited moſt of the places where Pizarro landed, and his deſcription of them throws light on the narrations of the early Spaniſh hiſtorians.

NOTE III. p. 29.

BY this time horſes had multiplied greatly in the Spaniſh ſettlements on the continent. When Cortes began his expedition in the year 1518, though his armament was more conſiderable than that of Pizarro, and compoſed of perſons ſuperior in rank to thoſe who invaded Peru, he could procure no more than ſixteen horſes.

NOTE V. p. 30.

IN the year 1740, D. Ant. Ulloa, and D. George Juan, travelled from Guayquil to Motupe, by the ſame route which Pizarro took. From the deſcription of their journey, one may form an idea of the difficulty of his march. The ſandy plains between St. Michael de Pieura and Motupe extend 90 miles, without water, without a tree, a plant, or any green thing, on a dreary ſtretch of burning ſand. Voyage, tom. i. p. 399, &c.

NOTE VI. p. 36.

THIS extravagant and unſeaſonable diſcourſe of Valverde has been cenſured by all hiſtorians, and with juſtice. But though he ſeems to have been an illiterate and bigoted monk, nowiſe reſembling the good Olmedo, who accompanied Cortes; the abſurdity of his addreſs to Atahualpa muſt not be charged wholly upon him. His harangue is evidently a tranſlation, or paraphraſe of that form, concerted by a junto of Spaniſh divines and lawyers in the year 1509, for explaining the right of their king to the ſovereignty of the New World, and for directing the officers employed in America how they ſhould take poſſeſſion of any new country. See Vol. i. Note xxiii. The

ſentiments contained in Valverde's harangue muſt not then be imputed to the bigoted imbecility of a particular man, but to that of the age. Gomara and Benzoni relate one circumſtance concerning Valverde, which, if authentic, renders him an object, not of contempt only, but of horror. They aſſert, that during the whole action, Valverde continued to excite the ſoldiers to ſlaughter, calling to them to ſtrike the enemy, not with the edge, but with the points of their ſwords. Gom. Cron. c. 113. Benz. Hiſtor. Nov. Orbis, lib. iii. c. 3. Such behaviour was very different from that of the Roman Catholic clergy in other parts of America, where they uniformly exerted their influence to protect the Indians, and to moderate the ferocity of their countrymen.

NOTE VII. p. 37.

TWO different ſyſtems have been formed concerning the conduct of Atahualpa. The Spaniſh writers, in order to juſtify the violence of their countrymen, contend, that all the Inca's profeſſions of friendſhip were feigned; and that his intention in agreeing to an interview with Pizarro at Caxamalca, was to cut off him and his followers at one blow; that for this purpoſe he advanced with ſuch a numerous body of attendants, who had arms concealed under their garments to execute this ſcheme. This is the account given by Xeres and Zarate, and adopted by Herrera. But if it had been the plan of the Inca to deſtroy the Spaniards, one can hardly imagine that he would have permitted them to march unmoleſted through the deſert of Motupe, or have neglected to defend the paſſes in the mountains, where they might have been attacked with ſo much advantage. If the Peruvians marched to Caxamalca with an intention to fall

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upon the Spaniards, it is inconceivable, that of ſo great a body of men, prepared for action, not one ſhould attempt to make reſiſtance, but all tamely ſuffer themſelves to be butchered by an enemy whom they were armed to attack. Atahualpa's mode of advancing to the interview, has the aſpect of a peaceable proceſſion, not of a military enterprize. He himſelf and his followers were, in their habits of ceremony, preceded, as on days of ſolemnity, by unarmed harbingers. Though rude nations are frequently cunning and falſe, yet, if a ſcheme of deception and treachery muſt be imputed either to a monarch, that had no great reaſon to be alarmed at a viſit from ſtrangers who ſolicited admiſſion into his preſence as friends, or to an adventurer ſo daring, and ſo little ſcrupulous as Pizarro, one cannot heſitate in determining where to fix the preſumption of guilt. Even amidſt the endeavours of the Spaniſh writers to palliate the proceedings of Pizarro, one plainly perceives, that it was his intention, as well as his intereſt, to ſeize the Inca, and that he had taken meaſures for that purpoſe previous to any ſuſpicion of that monarch's deſigns.

Garcilasso de la Vega, extremely ſolicitous to vindicate his countrymen, the Peruvians, from the crime of having concerted the deſtruction of Pizarro and his followers, and no leſs afraid to charge the Spaniards with improper conduct towards the Inca, has framed another ſyſtem. He relates, that a man of majeſtic form, with a long beard, and garments reaching to the ground, having appeared in viſion to Viracocha, the eighth Inca, and declared, that he was a child of the Sun, that monarch built a temple in honour of this perſon, and erected an image of him, reſembling as nearly as poſſible the ſingular form in which he had exhibited himſelf to his view. In this temple, divine honours were paid to him, by the

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name of Viracocha. P. i. lib. iv. c. 21. lib. v. c. 22. When the Spaniards firſt appeared in Peru, the length of their beards, and the dreſs they wore, ſtruck every perſon ſo much with their likeneſs to the image of Viracocha, that they ſuppoſed them to be children of the Sun, who had deſcended from heaven to earth. All concluded, that the fatal period of the Peruvian empire was now approaching, and that the throne would be occupied by new poſſeſſors. Atahualpa himſelf, conſidering the Spaniards as meſſengers from heaven, was ſo far from entertaining any thoughts of reſiſting them, that he determined to yield implicit obedience to their commands. From thoſe ſentiments flowed his profeſſions of love and reſpect. To thoſe were owing the cordial reception of Soto and Ferdinand Pizarro in his camp, and the ſubmiſſive reverence with which he himſelf advanced to viſit the Spaniſh general in his quarters; but from the groſs ignorance of Philipillo, the interpreter, the declaration of the Spaniards, and his anſwer to it, were ſo ill explained, that by their mutual inability to comprehend each other's intentions, the fatal rencounter at Caxamalca, with all its dreadful conſequences, was occaſioned.

It is remarkable, that no traces of this ſuperſtitious veneration of the Peruvians for the Spaniards, are to be found either in Xerez, or Sancho, or Zarate, previous to the interview at Caxamalca; and yet the two former ſerved under Pizarro at that time, and the latter viſited Peru ſoon after the conqueſt. If either the Inca himſelf, or his meſſengers, had addreſſed the Spaniards in the words which Garcilaſſo puts in their mouths, they muſt have been ſtruck with ſuch ſubmiſſive declarations; and they would certainly have availed themſelves of them to accompliſh their own deſigns with greater facility. Garcilaſſo himſelf, though his narrative of the intercourſe be-

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tween the Inca and Spaniards, preceding the rencounter at Caxamalca, is founded on the ſuppoſition of his believing them to be Viracochas, or divine beings, p. ii. lib. i. c. 17, &c. yet with his uſual inattention and inaccuracy he admits, in another place, that the Peruvians did not recollect the reſemblance between them and the god Viracocha, until the fatal diſaſters ſubſequent to the defeat at Caxamalca, and then only began to call them Viracochas. P. i. lib. v. c. 21. This is confirmed by Herrera, dec. 5. lib. ii. c. 12. In many different parts of America, if we may believe the Spaniſh writers, their countrymen were conſidered as divine beings who had deſcended from Heaven. But in this inſtance, as in many which occur in the intercourſe between nations whoſe progreſs in refinement is very unequal, the ideas of thoſe who uſed the expreſſion were different from the ideas of thoſe who heard it. For ſuch is the idiom of the Indian languages, or ſuch is the ſimplicity of thoſe who ſpeak them, that when they ſee any thing with which they were formerly unacquainted, and of which they do not know the origin; they ſay, that it came down from Heaven. Nugnez. Ram. iii. 327, C.

The account which I have given of the ſentiments and proceedings of the Peruvians, appears to be more natural and conſiſtent than either of the two preceding, and is better ſupported by the facts related by the contemporary hiſtorians.

According to Xerez, p. 200, two thouſand Peruvians were killed. Sancho makes the number of the ſlain ſix or ſeven thouſand. Ram. iii. 274, D. By Garcilaſſo's account, five thouſand were maſſacred. P. ii. lib. i. c. 25. The number which I have mentioned,

being the medium between the extremes, may probably be nearest the truth.

NOTE VIII. p. 39.

NOTHING can be a more striking proof of this, than that three Spaniards travelled from Caxamalca to Cuzco. The distance betwixt them is six hundred miles. In every place throughout this vast extent of country, they were treated with all the honours which the Peruvians paid to their sovereigns, and even to their divinities. Under pretext of amassing what was wanting for the ransom of the Inca, they demanded the plates of gold with which the walls of the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco were adorned; and though the priests were unwilling to alienate those sacred ornaments, and the people refused to violate the shrine of their God, the three Spaniards, with their own hands, robbed the Temple of part of this valuable treasure; and such was the reverence of the natives for their persons, that though they beheld this act of sacrilege with astonishment, they did not attempt to prevent or disturb the commission of it. Zarate, lib. ii. c. 6. Sancho ap. Ramus. iii. 375, D.

NOTE IX. p. 52.

ACCORDING to Herrera, the spoil of Cuzco, after setting apart the king's *fifth*, was divided among 480 persons. Each received 4000 pesos. This amounts to 1,920,000 pesos. Dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 3. But as the general, and other officers, were entitled to a part far greater than that of the private men, the sum total must have risen much beyond what I have mentioned. Gomara, c. 123. and Zarate, lib. ii. c. 8. satisfy them-

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selves with asserting in general, that the plunder of Cuzco was of greater value than the ransom of Atahualpa.

NOTE X. p. 54.

NO expedition in the New World was conducted with more persevering courage than that of Alvarado, and in none were greater hardships endured. Many of the persons engaged in it were, like their leader, veterans who had served under Cortes, inured to all the rigour of American war. Such of my readers as have not an opportunity of perusing the striking description of their sufferings by Zarate or Herrera, may form some idea of the nature of their march from the sea-coast to Quito, by consulting the account which D. Ant. Ulloa gives of his own journey in 1736, nearly in the same route. Voy. tom. i. p. 178, &c. or that of M. Bouguer, who proceeded from Puerto Viejo, to Quito, by the same road which Alvarado took. He compares his own journey with that of the Spanish leader, and by the comparison, gives a most striking idea of the boldness and patience of Alvarado, in forcing his way through so many obstacles. Voyage du Perou, p. 28, &c.

NOTE XI. p. 55.

ACCORDING to Herrera, there was entered on account of the king, in gold, 155,300 pesos, and 5400 marks (each 8 ounces) of silver, besides several vessels and ornaments, some of gold, and others of silver; on account of private persons, in gold 499,000 pesos, and 54,000 marks of silver. Dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 13.

NOTE XII. p. 65.

THE Peruvians had recourfe to other military arts than thofe of the Spaniards. As the cavalry were the chief object of their terror, they endeavoured to render them incapable of acting, by means of a long thong with a ftone faftened to each end. This, when thrown by a fkilful hand, twifted about the horfe and its rider, and entangled them fo as to obftruct their motions. Herrera mentions this as an invention of their own. Dec. 5. lib. viii. c. 4. But as I have obferved, vol. ii. p. 160, this weapon is common among feveral barbarous tribes towards the extremity of South America; and it is more probable, that the Peruvians had obferved the dexterity with which they ufed it in hunting, and on this occafion adopted it themfelves. The Spaniards were confiderably annoyed by it. Herrera, ibid. Another inftance of the ingenuity of the Peruvians deferves mention. By turning a river out of its channel, they overflowed a valley, in which a body of the enemy was pofted fo fuddenly, that it was with the utmoft difficulty the Spaniards made their efcape. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. viii. c. 5.

NOTE XIII. p. 85.

HERRERA's account of Orellana's voyage is the moft minute, and apparently the moft accurate. It was probably taken from the journal of Orellana himfelf. But the dates are not diftinctly marked. His navigation down the Coca, or Napoo, begun early in February 1541; and he arrived at the mouth of the river on the 26th of Auguft, having fpent near feven months in the voyage. M. de la Condamine, in the year 1743, failed from Cuenca to Para, a fettlement of the Portuguefe at the

mouth of the river, a navigation much longer than that of Orellana, in leſs than four months. Voyage, p. 179. But the two adventurers were very differently provided for the voyage. This hazardous undertaking, to which ambition prompted Orellana, and to which the love of ſcience led M. de la Condamine, was undertaken in the year 1769, by Madame Godin des Odonais, from conjugal affection. The narrative of the hardſhips which ſhe ſuffered, of the dangers to which ſhe was expoſed, and of the diſaſters which befel her, is one of the moſt ſingular and affecting ſtories in any language, exhibiting in her conduct a ſtriking picture of the fortitude which diſtinguiſhes the one ſex, mingled with the ſenſibility and tenderneſs peculiar to the other. Lettre de M. Godin, à M. de la Condamine.

NOTE XIV. p. 89.

HERRERA gives a ſtriking picture of their indigence. Twelve gentlemen, who had been officers of diſtinction under Almagro, lodged in the ſame houſe, and having but one cloak among them, it was worn alternately by him who had occaſion to appear in public, while the reſt, from the want of a decent dreſs, were obliged to keep within doors. Their former friends and companions were ſo much afraid of giving offence to Pizarro, that they durſt not entertain or even converſe with them. One may conceive what was the condition, and what the indignation of men once accuſtomed to power and opulence, when they felt themſelves poor and deſpiſed, without a roof under which to ſhelter their heads, while they beheld others, whoſe merit and ſervices were not equal to theirs, living with ſplendour in ſumptuous edifices. Dec. 6. lib. viii. c. 6.

NOTE XV. p. 103.

HERRERA, whofe accuracy entitles him to great credit, afferts, that Gonzalo Pizarro poffeffed domains in the neighbourhood of Chuquefaca de la Plata, which yielded him an annual revenue greater than that of the archbifhop of Toledo, the beft endowed fee in Europe. Dec. 7. lib. vi. c. 3.

NOTE XVI. p. 118.

ALL the Spanifh writers defcribe his march, and the diftreffes of both parties very minutely. Zarate obferves, that hardly any parallel to it occurs in hiftory, either with refpect to the length of the retreat or the ardour of the purfuit. Pizarro, according to his computation, followed the viceroy upwards of three thoufand miles. Lib. v. c. 16. 26.

NOTE XVII. p. 133.

IT amounted, according to Fernandez, the beft informed hiftorian of that period, to one million four hundred thoufand pefos. Lib. ii. c. 79.

NOTE XVIII. p. 135.

CARVAJAL, from the beginning, had been an advocate for an accommodation with Gafca. Finding Pizarro incapable of holding that bold courfe which he originally fuggefted, he recommended to him a timely fubmiffion to his fovereign as the fafeft meafure. When the prefident's offers were firft communicated to Carvajal, " By our Lady (faid he, in that ftrain of buffoonery which

which was familiar to him) the prieſt iſſues gracious bulls. He gives them both good and cheap, let us not only accept them, but wear them as reliques about our necks." Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 63.

NOTE XIX. p. 142.

DURING the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, ſeven hundred men were killed in battle, and three hundred and eighty were hanged or beheaded. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iv. c. 4. Above three hundred of theſe were cut off by Carvajal. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 91. Zarate makes the number of thoſe put to a violent death five hundred. Lib. vii. c. 1.

NOTE XX. p. 151.

IN my inquiries concerning the manners and policy of the Mexicans, I have received much information from a large manuſcript of Don Alonſo de Corita, one of the judges in the Court of Audience of Mexico. In the year 1553, Philip II. in order that he might diſcover the mode of levying tribute from his Indian ſubjects, that would be moſt beneficial to the crown, and leaſt oppreſſive to them, addreſſed a mandate to all the Courts of Audience in America, enjoining them to anſwer certain queries which he propoſed to them, concerning the ancient form of government eſtabliſhed among the various nations of Indians, and the mode in which they paid taxes to their kings or chiefs. In obedience to this mandate, Corita, who had reſided nineteen years in America, fourteen of which he paſſed in New Spain, compoſed the work of which I have a copy. He acquaints his ſovereign, that he had made it an object during his reſidence

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in America, and in all its provinces which he had viſited, to inquire diligently into the manners and cuſtoms of the natives, that he had converſed for this purpoſe with many aged and intelligent Indians, and conſulted ſeveral of the Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics, who underſtood the Indian languages moſt perfectly, particularly ſome of thoſe who landed in New Spain ſoon after the conqueſt. Corita appears to be a man of ſome learning, and to have carried on his inquiries with the diligence and accuracy to which he pretends. Greater credit is due to his teſtimony from one circumſtance. His work was not compoſed with a view to publication, or in ſupport of any particular theory, but contains ſimple, though full anſwers to queries propoſed to him officially. Though Herrera does not mention him among the authors whom he had followed as guides in his hiſtory, I ſhould ſuppoſe, from ſeveral facts of which he takes notice, as well as from ſeveral expreſſions which he uſes, that this memorial of Corita was not unknown to him.

NOTE XXI. p. 162.

THE early Spaniſh writers were ſo haſty and inaccurate in eſtimating the numbers of people in the provinces and towns of America, that it is impoſſible to aſcertain that of Mexico itſelf with any degree of preciſion. Cortes deſcribes the extent and populouſneſs of Mexico in general terms, which imply that it was not inferior to the greateſt cities in Europe. Gomara is more explicit, and affirms, that there were 60,000 houſes, or families in Mexico. Cron. c. 78. Herrera adopts his opinion. Dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 13; and the generality of writers follow them implicitly without inquiry or ſcruple. According to this account, the inhabitants of Mexico muſt have

have been about 300,000. Torquemada, with his uſual propenſity to the marvellous, aſſerts, that there were a hundred and twenty thouſand houſes or families in Mexico, and conſequently about ſix hundred thouſand inhabitants. Lib. iii. c. 23. But in a very judicious account of the Mexican empire, by one of Cortes's officers, the population is fixed at 60,000 people. Ramuſio, iii. 309, A. Even by this account, which probably is much nearer the truth than any of the foregoing, Mexico was a great city.

NOTE XXII. p. 166.

IT is to P. Torribio de Benavente, that I am indebted for this curious obſervation. Palafox, biſhop of Ciudad de la Puebla Los Angeles, confirms and illuſtrates it more fully. The Mexican (ſays he) is the only language in which a termination indicating reſpect, *ſilavas reverentiales y de corteſia*, may be affixed to every word. By adding the final ſyllable *zin* or *azin* to any word, it becomes a proper expreſſion of veneration in the mouth of an inferior. If, in ſpeaking to an equal, the word Father is to be uſed, it is *Tatl*, but an inferior ſays Tatzin. One prieſt ſpeaking to another, calls him *Teopixque*; a perſon of inferior rank calls him *Teopixcatzin*. The name of the emperor who reigned when Cortes invaded Mexico, was *Montezuma*, but his vaſſals, from reverence, pronounced it *Montezumazin*. Torribio, MS. Palaf. Virtudes del Indio, p. 65. The Mexicans had not only reverential nouns, but reverential verbs. The manner in which theſe are formed from the verbs in common uſe, is explained by D. Joſ. Aug. Aldama y Guevara in his Mexican Grammar, N°. 188.

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NOTE XXIII. p. 172.

FROM comparing ſeveral paſſages in Corita and Herrera, we may collect with ſome degree of accuracy, the various modes in which the Mexicans contributed towards the ſupport of government. Some perſons of the firſt order ſeem to have been exempted from the payment of any tribute, and as their only duty to the public, were bound to perſonal ſervice in war, and to follow the banner of the ſovereign with their vaſſals. 2. The immediate vaſſals of the crown were bound not only to perſonal military ſervice, but paid a certain proportion of the produce of their lands in kind. 3. Thoſe who held offices of honour or truſt, paid a certain ſhare of what they received in conſequence of holding theſe. 4. Each *Capullæ*, or aſſociation, cultivated ſome part of the common field allotted to it, for the behoof of the crown, and depoſited the produce in the royal granaries. 5. Some part of whatever was brought to the public markets, whether fruits of the earth, or the various productions of their artiſts and manufacturers, was demanded for the public uſe, and the merchants who paid this were exempted from every other tax. 6. The *Mayeques*, or *adſcripti glebæ*, were bound to cultivate certain diſtricts in every province, which may be conſidered as *crown lands*, and brought the increaſe into public ſtorehouſes. Thus the ſovereign received ſome part of whatever was uſeful or valuable in the country, whether it was the natural production of the ſoil, or acquired by the induſtry of the people. What each contributed towards the ſupport of government, ſeems to have been inconſiderable. Corita, in anſwer to one of the queries put to the Audience of Mexico by Philip II. endeavours to eſtimate in money the value of what each citizen might be ſuppoſed to pay, and does not reckon it at more

more than three or four *reals*, about eighteen pence or two ſhillings a head.

NOTE XXIV. p. 172.

CORTES, who ſeems to have been as much aſtoniſhed with this, as with any inſtance of Mexican ingenuity, gives a particular deſcription of it. Along one of the cauſeways, ſays he, by which they enter the city, are conducted two conduits, compoſed of clay tempered with mortar, about two paces in breadth, and raiſed about ſix feet. In one of them is conveyed a ſtream of excellent water, as large as the body of a man, into the centre of the city, and it ſupplies all the inhabitants plentifully. The other is empty, that when it is neceſſary to clean, or repair the former, the ſtream of water may be turned into it. As this conduit paſſes along two of the bridges, where there are breaches in the cauſeway, through which the ſalt-water of the lake flows, it is conveyed over them in pipes as large as the body of an ox, then carried from the conduit to the remote quarters of the city in canoes, and ſold to the inhabitants. Relat. ap. Ramuſ. 241, A.

NOTE XXV. p. 174.

IN the armoury of the royal palace of Madrid, are ſhewn ſuits of armour, which are called Montezuma's. They are compoſed of thin lacquered copper-plates. In the opinion of very intelligent judges they are evidently eaſtern. The forms of the ſilver ornaments upon them, repreſenting dragons, &c. may be conſidered as a confirmation of this. They are infinitely ſuperior in point of workmanſhip to any effort of American art. The Spaniards

niards probably received them from the Philippine iſlands. The only unqueſtionable ſpecimen of Mexican art that I know of in Great Britain, is a cup of very fine gold, which is ſaid to have belonged to Montezuma. It weighs 5 oz. 12 dwt. Three drawings of it were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, June 10, 1765. A man's head is repreſented on this cup. On one ſide the full face, on the other the profile, on the third the back parts of the head. The relievo is ſaid to have been produced by punching the inſide of the cup, ſo as to make the repreſentation of a face on the outſide. The features are rude, but very tolerable, and certainly too rude for Spaniſh workmanſhip. This cup was purchaſed by Edward earl of Orford, while he lay in the harbour of Cadiz with the fleet under his command, and is now in the poſſeſſion of his grandſon, Lord Archer. I am indebted for this information to my reſpectable and ingenious friend Mr. Barrington.

NOTE XXVI. p. 179.

THE learned reader will perceive how much I have been indebted, in this part of my work, to the guidance of the biſhop of Glouceſter, who has traced the ſucceſſive ſteps, by which the human mind advanced in this line of its progreſs, with much erudition, and greater ingenuity. He is the firſt, as far as I know, who formed a rational and conſiſtent theory concerning the various modes of writing practiſed by nations, according to the various degrees of their improvement. Div. Legation of Moſes, iii. 69, &c. Some important obſervations have been added by the learned and intelligent author of the Traité de la Formation Mechanique des Langues, tom. i. 295, &c.

As the Mexican paintings are the moſt curious monuments extant of the earlieſt mode of writing, it will not be improper to give ſome account of the means by which they were preſerved from the general wreck of every work of art in America, and communicated to the Public. For the moſt early and complete collection of theſe publiſhed by Purchas, we are indebted to the attention of that curious inquirer, Hakluyt. Don Antonio Mendoza, viceroy of New Spain, having deemed thoſe paintings a proper preſent for Charles V. the ſhip in which they were ſent to Spain, was taken by a French cruizer, and they came into the poſſeſſion of Thevet, the king's geographer, who having travelled himſelf into the New World, and deſcribed one of its provinces, was a curious obſerver of whatever tended to illuſtrate the manners of the Americans. On his death, they were purchaſed by Hakluyt, at that time chaplain of the Engliſh ambaſſador to the French court; and, being left by him to Purchas, were publiſhed at the deſire of the learned antiquary Sir Henry Spelman. Purchas, iii. 1065.

The ſecond ſpecimen of Mexican picture-writing, was publiſhed by Dr. Francis Gemelli Carreri, in two copper-plates. The firſt is a map, or repreſentation of the progreſs of the ancient Mexicans on their firſt arrival in the country, and of the various ſtations in which they ſettled, before they founded the capital of their empire in the lake of Mexico. The ſecond is a Chronological Wheel, or Circle, repreſenting the manner in which they computed and marked their cycle of fifty-two years. The former was given to him by Dr. Criſtoval de Guadalajora, in the city of Puebla de los Angeles; the latter he received from Don Carlos de Siguenza y Congorra. But as it ſeems now to be a received opinion (founded I know not on what evidence) that Carreri was never out of Italy, and that

that his famous *Giro del Mundo* is an account of a fictitious voyage, I have not mentioned these paintings in the text. They have, however, manifestly the appearance of being Mexican productions, and are allowed to be so by Boturini, who was well qualified to determine whether they were genuine or suppositious. The style of painting in the former is considerably more perfect than any other specimen of Mexican design; but as the original is said to have been much defaced by time, I suspect that it has been improved by some touches from the hand of an European artist. Carreri, Churchill, iv. p. 487. The chronological wheel is a just delineation of the Mexican mode of computing time, as described by Acosta, lib. vi. c. 2. It seems to resemble one which that learned Jesuit had seen; and if it be admitted as a genuine monument, it proves that the Mexicans had artificial, or arbitrary characters, which represented several things besides numbers. Each month is there represented by a symbol expressive of some work or rite peculiar to it.

The third specimen of Mexican painting was discovered by another Italian. In 1736, Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci set out for New Spain, and was led by several incidents to study the language of the Mexicans, and to collect the remains of their historical monuments. He persisted nine years in his researches, with the enthusiasm of a projector, and the patience of an antiquary. In 1746, he published at Madrid, *Idea de una Nueva Historia General de la America Septentrional*, containing an account of the result of his inquiries; and he added to it a catalogue of his American Historical Museum, arranged under thirty-six different heads. His idea of a New History appears to me the work of a whimsical credulous man. But his catalogue of Mexican maps, paintings, tribute-rolls,

rolls, calendars, &c. is amazing. Unfortunately a ſhip, in which he had ſent a conſiderable part of them to Europe, was taken by an Engliſh privateer in the war before laſt; and it is probable that they periſhed by falling into the hands of ignorant captors. Boturini himſelf incurred the diſpleaſure of the Spaniſh court, and died in an hoſpital at Madrid. The hiſtory, of which the *Idea*, &c. was only a *proſpectus*, was never publiſhed. The remainder of his Muſeum ſeems to have been diſperſed. Some part of it came into the poſſeſſion of the preſent archbiſhop of Toledo, when he was primate of New Spain, and he publiſhed from it that curious tribute-roll which I have mentioned.

The only other collection of Mexican paintings, as far as I can learn, is in the Imperial Library at Vienna. By order of their Imperial Majeſties, I have obtained ſuch a ſpecimen of theſe as I deſired, in eight paintings, made with ſo much fidelity, that I am informed the copies could hardly be diſtinguiſhed from the originals. According to a note in this *Codex Mexicanus*, it appears to have been a preſent from Emmanuel King of Portugal to Pope Clement VII. who died A. D. 1533. After paſſing through the hands of ſeveral illuſtrious proprietors, it fell into thoſe of the cardinal of Saxe-Eiſenach, who preſented it to the emperor Leopold. Theſe paintings are manifeſtly Mexican, but they are in a ſtyle very different from any of the former. An engraving has been made of one of them, in order to gratify ſuch of my readers, as may deem this an object worthy of their attention. Were it an object of ſufficient importance, it might, perhaps, be poſſible, by recourſe to the plates of Purchas, and the archbiſhop of Toledo, as a key, to form plauſible conjectures concerning the meaning of this picture. Many of the figures are

manifeſtly ſimilar. A. A. are targets and darts, almoſt in the ſame form with thoſe publiſhed by Purchas, p. 1070, 1071, &c. B. B. are figures of temples, nearly reſembling thoſe in Purchas, p. 1109 and 1113, and in Lorenzana, Plate II. C. is a bale of mantles, or cotton cloths, the figure of which occurs in almoſt every plate of Purchas and Lorenzana. E. E. E. ſeem to be Mexican captains in their war dreſs, the fantaſtic ornaments of which reſemble the figures in Purchas, p. 1110, 1111, 2113. I ſhould ſuppoſe this picture to be a tribute-roll, as their mode of noting numbers occurs frequently. D. D. D. &c. According to Boturini, the mode of computation by the number of knots, was known to the Mexicans as well as to the Peruvians, p. 85. and the manner in which the number of units is repreſented in the Mexican paintings in my poſſeſſion, ſeems to confirm this opinion. They plainly reſemble a ſtring of knots on a cord or ſlender rope.

Since I publiſhed the former Edition, Mr. Waddilove, who is ſtill pleaſed to continue his friendly attention to procure me information, has diſcovered, in the Library of the Eſcurial, a volume in folio, conſiſting of forty ſheets of a kind of paſteboard, each the ſize of a common ſheet of writing paper, with great variety of uncouth and whimſical figures of Mexican painting, in very freſh colours, and with an explanation in Spaniſh to moſt of them. The firſt twenty-two ſheets are the ſigns of the months, days, &c. About the middle of each ſheet are two or more large figures for the month, ſurrounded by the ſigns of the days. The laſt eighteen ſheets are not ſo filled with figures. They ſeem to be ſigns of Deities, and images of various objects. According to this Calendar in the Eſcurial, the Mexican year contained 286 days, divided into 22 months of 13 days. Each day is repre-

ſented

sented by a different sign, taken from some natural object, a serpent, a dog, a lizard, a reed, a house, &c. The signs of days in the Calendar of the Escurial are precisely the same with those mentioned by Boturini, Idea, &c. p. 45. But, if we may give credit to that Author, the Mexican year contained 360 days, divided into 18 months of 20 days. The order of days in every month was computed, according to him, first by what he calls a *tridecennary* progression of days from one to thirteen, in the same manner as in the Calendar of the Escurial, and then by a *septenary* progression of days from one to seven, making in all twenty. In this Calendar, not only the signs which distinguish each day, but the qualities supposed to be peculiar to each month, are marked. There are certain weaknesses which seem to accompany the human mind through every stage of its progress in observation and science. Slender as was the knowledge of the Mexicans in Astronomy, it appears to be already connected with judicial Astrology. The fortune and character of persons born in each month are supposed to be decided by some superior influence predominant at the time of nativity. Hence it is foretold in the Calendar, that all who are born in one month will be rich, in another warlike, in a third luxurious, &c. The pasteboard, or whatever substance it may be on which the Calendar in the Escurial is painted, seems, by Mr. Waddilove's description of it, to resemble nearly that in the Imperial Library at Vienna. In several particulars, the figures bear some likeness to those in the plate which I have published. The figures marked D. which induced me to conjecture, that this painting might be a tribute-roll similar to these published by Purchas and the Archbishop of Toledo, Mr. Waddilove supposes to be signs of days; and I have such confidence in the accuracy of his observations, as to conclude his opinion to be well founded.

 It

It appears, from the characters in which the explanations of the figures are written, that this curious monument of Mexican art has been obtained, soon after the conquest of the Empire. It is singular that it should never have been mentioned by any Spanish Author.

NOTE XXVII. p. 181.

THE first was called, the Prince of the deathful Lance; the second the Divider of Men; the third, the Shedder of Blood; the fourth, the Lord of the Dark-House. Acosta, Lib. vi. c. 25.

NOTE XXVIII. p. 189.

THE Temple of Cholula, which was deemed more holy than any in New Spain, was likewise the most considerable. But it was nothing more than a mount of solid earth. According to Torquemada, it was above a quarter of a league in circuit at the base, and rose to the height of forty fathom. Mon. Ind. Lib. iii. c. 19.

FROM inspecting various figures of temples in the paintings engraved by Purchas, there seems to be some reason for suspecting that all their temples were constructed in the same manner. See Vol. iii. p. 1109, 1110. 1113.

NOTE XXIX. p. 190.

NOT only in Tlascala, and Tepeaca, but even in Mexico itself, the houses of the people were mere huts built with turf, or mud, or the branches of trees. They were extremely low, and slight, and without any furniture but a few earthen vessels. Like the rudest Indians,

sians, several families resided under the same roof, without having any separate apartments. Herrera, Dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 13. lib. x. c. 22. Dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 17. Torquem. lib. iii. c. 23.

NOTE XXX. p. 190.

I AM informed by a person who resided long in New Spain, and visited almost every province of it, that there is not, in all the extent of that vast empire, any monument, or vestige of any building more ancient than the conquest, nor of any bridge or highway, except some remains of the causeway from Guadaloupe to that gate of Mexico by which Cortes entered the city. MS. *penes me.* The author of another account in manuscript observes, "That at this day there does not remain even the smallest vestige of the existence of any ancient Indian building, public or private, either in Mexico or in any province of New Spain. I have travelled, says he, through all the countries adjacent to them, viz. New Galicia, New Biscay, New Mexico, Sonora, Cinaloa, the New Kingdom of Leon, and New Santandero, without having observed any monument worth notice, except the ruins near an ancient village in the valley *de Casas Grandes*, in lat. N. 30°. 46′. longit. 258°. 24′. from the island of Teneriffe, or 460 leagues N. N. W. from Mexico. He describes this minutely, and it appears to have been a paltry building of turf and stone, plastered over with white earth or lime. A missionary informed that gentleman, that he had discovered the ruins of another settlement similar to the former, about an hundred leagues towards N. W. on the banks of the river St. Pedro. MS. *penes me.*

THOSE testimonies derive great credit from one circumstance, that they were not given in support of any

particular fyftem or theory, but as fimple anfwers to queries which I had propofed. It is probable, however, that when thefe gentlemen affert, that no ruins or monuments of any ancient work whatever are now to be difcovered in the Mexican Empire, they meant that there were no fuch ruins or monuments as conveyed any idea of grandeur or magnificence, in the works of its ancient inhabitants. For it appears from the teftimony of feveral Spanifh authors, that in Otumba, Tlafcala, Cholula, &c. fome veftiges of ancient buildings are ftill vifible. Villa Segnor Theatro Amer. p. 143. 308. 353. D. Fran. Ant. Lorenzana, formerly archbifhop of Mexico, and now of Toledo, in his introduction to that edition of the Cartas de Relacion of Cortes, which he publifhed at Mexico, mentions fome ruins which are ftill vifible in feveral of the towns through which Cortes paffed in his way to the capital, p. 4. &c. But neither of thefe authors give any defcription of them, and they feem to be fo very inconfiderable, as to fhow only that fome buildings had once been there. The large mount of earth at Cholula, which the Spaniards dignified with the name of temple, ftill remains, but without any fteps by which to afcend, or any facing of ftone. It appears now like a natural mount, covered with grafs and fhrubs, and poffibly it was never any thing more. Torquem, lib. iii. c. 19. I have received a minute defcription of the remains of a temple near Cuernavaca, on the road from Mexico to Acapulco. It is compofed of large ftones, fitted to each other as nicely as thofe in the buildings of the Peruvians, which are hereafter mentioned. At the foundation it forms a fquare of 25 yards; but as it rifes in height, it diminifhes in extent, not gradually, but by being contracted fuddenly at regular diftances, fo that it muft have refembled the figure B in the plate. It terminated, it is faid, in a fpire.

NOTE XXXI. p. 196.

THE exaggeration of the Spaniſh Hiſtorians, with reſpect to the number of human victims ſacrificed in Mexico, appears to be very great. According to Gomara, there was no year in which twenty thouſand human victims were not offered to the Mexican Divinities, and in ſome years they amounted to fifty thouſand. Cron. c. 229. The ſkulls of thoſe unhappy perſons were ranged in order in a building erected for that purpoſe, and two of Cortes's officers who had counted them, informed Gomara that their number was a hundred and thirty-ſix thouſand. Ibid. c. 82. Herrera's account is ſtill more incredible, that the number of victims was ſo great, that five thouſand have been ſacrificed in one day, nay, on ſome occaſions, no leſs than twenty thouſand. Dec. iii. lib. ii. c. 16. Torquemada goes beyond both in extravagance, for he aſſerts, that twenty thouſand children, excluſive of other victims, were ſlaughtered annually. Mon. Ind. lib. vii. c. 21. The moſt reſpectable authority in favour of ſuch high numbers is that of Zumurraga, the firſt biſhop of Mexico, who, in a letter to the chapter general of his order, A. D. 1631, aſſerts that the Mexicans ſacrificed annually twenty thouſand victims. Davila. Teatro Ecclef. 126. In oppoſition to all theſe accounts, B. de las Caſas obſerves, that if there had been ſuch an annual waſte of the human ſpecies, the country could never have arrived at that degree of populouſneſs, for which it was remarkable when the Spaniards firſt landed there; and he poſitively aſſerts, that the Mexicans never ſacrificed more than fifty or a hundred perſons in a year. See his diſpute with Sepulveda, ſubjoined to his Breviſſima Relacion, p. 105. Cortes does not ſpecify what number of victims was ſacrificed annually, but B.

Diaz del Castello relates, that an enquiry having been made, with respect to this, by the Franciscan Monks, who were sent into New Spain immediately after the conquest, it was found that about two thousand five hundred were sacrificed every year in Mexico. C. 207.

NOTE XXXII. p. 197.

IT is hardly necessary to observe, that the Peruvian Chronology is not only obscure, but repugnant to conclusions deduced from the most accurate and extensive observations, concerning the time that elapses during each reign, in any given succession of princes. The medium has been found not to exceed twenty years. According to Acosta and Garcilasso de la Vega, Huana Capac, who died about the year 1527, was the twelfth Inca. The duration of the Peruvian monarchy ought not to have been reckoned above two hundred and forty years; but they affirm that it had subsisted four hundred years. Acosta, lib. vi. c. 19. Vega, lib. i. c. 9. By this account each reign is extended at a medium to thirty-three years, instead of twenty, the number ascertained by Sir Isaac Newton's observations; but so imperfect were the Peruvian traditions, that though the total is boldly marked, the number of years in each reign is unknown.

NOTE XXXIII. p. 205.

MANY of the early Spanish writers assert, that the Peruvians offered human sacrifices. Xeres, p. 190. Zarate, lib. i. c. 11. Acosta, lib. v. c. 19. But Garcilasso de la Vega contends, that though this barbarous practice prevailed among their uncivilized ancestors, it was totally abolished by the Incas, and that no human victim was ever offered in any temple of the Sun. This asser-

tion, and the plausible reasons with which he confirms it, are sufficient to refute the Spanish writers, whose accounts seem to be founded entirely upon report, not upon what they themselves had observed. Vega, lib. ii. c. 4. In one of their festivals, the Peruvians offered cakes of bread moistened with blood drawn from the arms, the eye-brows, and noses of their children. Id. lib. vii. c. 6. This rite appears to have been derived from their ancient practice of sacrificing human victims.

NOTE XXXIV. p. 211.

THE Spaniards have adopted both those customs of the ancient Peruvians. They have preserved some of the aqueducts or canals, made in the days of the Incas, and have made new ones, by which they water every field that they cultivate. Ulloa Voyage, tom. i. 422. 477. They likewise continue to use *guano*, or the dung of sea-fowls, as manure. Ulloa gives a description of the almost incredible quantity of it in the small islands near the coast. Ibid. 481.

NOTE XXXV. p. 213.

THE temple of Cayambo, the palace of the Inca at Callo in the plain of Lacatunga, and that of Atun-Cannar, are described by Ulloa, tom. i. 286, &c. who inspected them with great care. M. de Condamine published a curious memoir concerning the ruins of Atun-Cannar. Mem. de l'Academie de Berlin, A. D. 1746, p. 435. Acosta describes the ruins of Cuzco, which he had examined. Lib. vi. c. 14. Garcilasso, in his usual stile, gives pompous and confused descriptions of several temples, and other public edifices. Lib. iii. c. 1. 21. lib. vi. c. 4.

Don ——— Zapata, in a large treatife concerning Peru, which has not hitherto been publifhed, communicates fome information with refpect to feveral monuments of the ancient Peruvians, which have not been mentioned by other authors. MS. *penes me*, Articulo xx. Ulloa defcribes fome of the ancient Peruvian fortifications, which were likewife works of great extent and folidity. Tom. i. 391. Three circumftances ftruck all thofe obfervers: the vaft fize of the ftones which the Peruvians employed in fome of their buildings. Acofta meafured one, which was thirty feet long, eighteen broad, and fix in thicknefs; and yet, he adds, that in the fortrefs at Cuzco, there were ftones confiderably larger. It is difficult to conceive how the Peruvians could move thefe, and raife them to the height even of twelve feet. The fecond circumftance is, the imperfection of the Peruvian art, when applied to working in timber. By the patience and perfeverance natural to Americans, ftones may be formed into any fhape, merely by rubbing one againft another, or by the ufe of hatchets or other inftruments made of ftone; but with fuch rude tools, little progrefs can be made in carpentry. The Peruvians could not mortize two beams together, or give any degree of union, or ftability to any work compofed of timber. As they could not form a centre, they were totally unacquainted with the ufe of arches in building, nor can the Spanifh authors conceive how they were able to frame a roof for thofe ample ftructures which they raifed.

The third circumftance is a ftriking proof, which all the monuments of the Peruvians furnifh, of their want of ingenuity and invention, accompanied with patience no lefs aftonifhing. None of the ftones employed in thofe works were formed into any particular or uniform fhape,

which

which could render them fit for building. The Indians took them as they fell from the mountains, or were raised out of the quarries. Some were square, some triangular, some convex, some concave. Their art and industry were employed in joining them together, by forming such hollows in the one, as perfectly corresponded to the projections or risings in the other. This tedious operation, which might have been so easily abridged, by adapting the surface of the stones to each other, either by rubbing, or by their hatchets of copper, would be deemed incredible, if it were not put beyond doubt by inspecting the remains of those buildings. It gives them a very singular appearance to an European eye. There is no regular layer or stratum of building, and no one stone resembles another in dimensions or form. At the same time, by the persevering, but ill-directed industry of the Indians, are all joined with that minute nicety which I have mentioned. Ulloa made this observation concerning the form of the stones in the fortress of Atun-Cannar. Voy. i. p. 387. Pineto gives a similar description of the fortress of Cuzco, the most perfect of all the Peruvian works. Zapata MS. *penes me.* According to M. de Condamine, there were regular strata of building in some parts of Atun-Cannar, which he remarks as singular, and as a proof of some progress in improvement.

NOTE XXXVI. p. 217.

THE appearance of those bridges, which bend with their own weight, wave with the wind, and are considerably agitated by the motion of every person who passes along them, is very frightful at first. But the Spaniards have found them to be the easiest mode of passing the torrents in Peru, over which it would be difficult to throw more solid structures either of stone or timber. They

form

form thoſe hanging bridges ſo ſtrong and broad, that loaded mules paſs alongſt them. All the trade of Cuzco is carried on by means of ſuch a bridge over the river Apurimac. Ulloa, tom. i. 358. A more ſimple contrivance was employed in paſſing ſmaller ſtreams: a baſket, in which the traveller was placed, being ſuſpended from a ſtrong rope ſtretched acroſs the ſtream, it was puſhed or drawn from one ſide to the other. Ibid.

NOTE XXXVII. p. 228.

MY information with reſpect to thoſe events is taken from *Noticia breve* de la expedicion militar de Sonora y Cinaloa, ſu exito feliz, y vantojoſo eſtado, en que por conſecuentia de ello, ſe han pueſto ambas provincias, publiſhed at Mexico, June 17th, 1771, in order to ſatisfy the curioſity of the merchants, who had furniſhed the viceroy with money for defraying the expence of the armament. The copies of this *Noticia* are very rare in Madrid; but I have obtained one, which has enabled me to communicate theſe curious facts to the Public. According to this account, there was found in the mine Yecorato in Cinaloa, a grain of gold of twenty-two carats, which weighed ſixteen marks four ounces four ochavas; this was ſent to Spain as a preſent fit for the king, and is now depoſited in the royal cabinet at Madrid.

NOTE XXXVIII. p. 229.

THE uncertainty of geographers with reſpect to this point is remarkable, for Cortes ſeems to have ſurveyed its coaſts with great accuracy. The archbiſhop of Toledo has publiſhed, from the original, in the poſſeſſion of the Marquis del Valle, the deſcendant of Cortes, a map drawn in 1541, by the pilot Domingo Caſtillo, in which California is laid down as a peninſula, ſtretching out

out nearly in the ſame direction which is now given to it in the beſt maps, and the point where Rio Colorado enters the gulf is marked with preciſion. Hiſt. de Neuva Eſpagna, 327.

NOTE XXXIX. p. 232.

I AM indebted for this fact to M. L'Abbé Raynal, tom. iii. 103. and upon conſulting an intelligent perſon, who having been long ſettled on the Moſquito ſhore, has been engaged in the logwood trade, I find that ingenious author has been well informed. The logwood, cut near the town of St. Francis of Campeachy, is of much better quality than that on the other ſide of Yucatan, and the Engliſh trade in the Bay of Honduras is almoſt at an end.

NOTE XL. p. 250.

P. Torribio de Benevente, or Motolinea, has enumerated ten cauſes of the rapid depopulation of Mexico, to which he gives the name of the Ten Plagues. Many of theſe are not peculiar to that province. 1. The introduction of the ſmall-pox. This diſeaſe was firſt brought into New Spain in the year 1520 by a negro ſlave who attended Narvaez. Torribio affirms, that one half of the people in the provinces, viſited with this diſtemper, died. To this mortality, occaſioned by the ſmall-pox, Torquemada adds the deſtructive effects of two contagious diſtempers which raged in the years 1545 and 1576. In the former 800,000; in the latter, above two millions periſhed, according to an exact account taken by order of the viceroys. Mon. Ind. i. 642. The ſmall-pox was not introduced into Peru for ſeveral years after the invaſion of the Spaniards, but proved very fatal to the natives. Garcia Origen, p. 88. 2. The numbers who were killed, or died of famine in their war with the Spaniards, particularly during the

the siege of Mexico. 3. The great famine that followed after the reduction of Mexico, as all the people engaged, either on one side or other, had neglected the cultivation of their lands. Something similar to this happened in all the other countries conquered by the Spaniards. 4. The grievous tasks imposed by the Spaniards upon the people belonging to their Repartimientos. 5. The oppressive burden of taxes which they were unable to pay, and from which they could hope for no exemption. 6. The numbers employed in collecting the gold, carried down by the torrents from the mountains, who were forced from their own habitations, without any provision made for their subsistence, and subjected to all the rigour of cold in those elevated regions. 7. The immense labour of rebuilding Mexico, which Cortes urged on with such precipitate ardour, as destroyed an incredible number of people. 8. The number of people condemned to servitude, under various pretexts, and employed in working the silver mines. These, marked by each proprietor with a hot iron, like his cattle, were driven in herds to the mountains. The nature of the labour to which they were subjected there, the noxious vapours of the mines, the coldness of the climate, and scarcity of food, were so fatal, that Torribio affirms, the country round several of those mines, particularly near Guaxago, was covered with dead bodies, the air corrupted with their stench, and so many vultures, and other voracious birds, hovered about for their prey, that the sun was darkened with their flight. 10. The Spaniards, in the different expeditions which they undertook, and by the civil wars which they carried on, destroyed many of the natives, whom they compelled to serve them as *Tamemes*, or carriers of burdens. This last mode of oppression was particularly ruinous to the Peruvians. From the number of Indians who perished

in

in Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition into the countries to the east of the Andes, one may form some idea of what they suffered in similar services, and how fast they were wasted by them. Torribio, MS. Corita in his Breve y Summaria Relacion, illustrates and confirms several of Torribio's observations, to which he refers. MS. *penes me.*

NOTE XLI. p. 251.

EVEN Montesquieu has adopted this idea, lib. viii. c. 18. But the passion of that great man for system, sometimes rendered him inattentive to research; and from his capacity to refine, he was apt, in some instances, to overlook obvious and just causes.

NOTE XLII. p. 252.

A STRONG proof of this occurs in the testament of Isabella, where she discovers the most tender concern for the humane and mild usage of the Indians. Those laudable sentiments of the queen have been adopted into the public law of Spain, and serve as the introduction to the regulations contained under the title *of the good treatment of the Indians.* Recopil. lib. vi. tit. x.

NOTE XLIII. p. 254.

IN the seventh *Title* of the first book of the *Recopilacion*, which contains the laws concerning the powers and functions of archbishops and bishops, almost a third part of them relates to what is incumbent upon them, as guardians of the Indians, and points out the various methods in which it is their duty to interpose, in order to defend

defend them from oppreſſion, either with reſpect to their perſons or property. Not only do the laws commit to them this honourable and humane office, but they actually exerciſe it.

INNUMERABLE proofs of this might be produced from Spaniſh authors. But I rather refer to Gage, as he was not diſpoſed to aſcribe any merit to the popiſh clergy, to which they were not fully entitled. Survey, p. 142. 192, &c. Henry Hawks, an Engliſh merchant, who reſided five years in New Spain, previous to the year 1572, gives the ſame favourable account of the popiſh clergy. Hakluyt, iii. 466. By a law of Charles V. not only biſhops, but other eccleſiaſtics, are impowered to inform and admoniſh the civil magiſtrates, if any Indian is deprived of his juſt liberty and rights. Recopilac. lib. vi. tit. vi. ley 14; and thus were conſtituted legal protectors of the Indians. Some of the Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics refuſed to grant abſolution to ſuch of their countrymen as poſſeſſed *Encomiendas*, and conſidered the Indians as ſlaves, or employed them in working their mines. Gonz. Davil. Teatro Eccleſ. i. 157.

NOTE XLIV. p. 255.

ACCORDING to Gage, Chiapa dos Indos contains 4000 families, and he mentions it only as one of the largeſt Indian towns in America, p. 104.

NOTE XLV. p. 255.

IT is very difficult to obtain an accurate account of the ſtate of population in thoſe kingdoms of Europe where the police is moſt perfect, and where ſcience has made the greateſt

greateſt progreſs. In Spaniſh America, where knowledge is ſtill in its infancy, and few men have leiſure to engage in reſearches merely ſpeculative, little attention has been paid to this curious inquiry. But in the year 1741, Philip V. enjoined the viceroys and governors of the ſeveral provinces in America, to make an actual ſurvey of the people under their juriſdiction, and to tranſmit a report concerning their number and occupations. In conſequence of this order, the Conde de Fuen-Clara, viceroy of New Spain, appointed D. Joſ. Antonio de Villa Segnor y Sanchez, to execute that commiſſion in New Spain. From the reports of the magiſtrates in the ſeveral diſtricts, as well as from his own obſervations, and long acquaintance with moſt of the provinces, Villa Segnor publiſhed the reſult of his inquiries in his *Teatro Americano*. His report, however, is imperfect. Of the nine dioceſes, into which the Mexican empire has been divided, he has publiſhed an account of five only, viz. the archbiſhopric of Mexico, the biſhoprics of Puebla de los Angeles, Mechoacan, Oaxaca, and Nova Galicia. The biſhoprics of Yucatan, Verapaz, Chiapa, and Guatimala, are entirely omitted, though the two latter comprehend countries, in which the Indian race is more numerous than in any part of New Spain. In his ſurvey of the extenſive dioceſe of Nova Galicia, the ſituation of the different Indian villages is deſcribed, but he ſpecifies the number of people only in a ſmall part of it. The Indians of that vaſt province, in which the Spaniſh dominion is imperfectly eſtabliſhed, are not regiſtered with the ſame accuracy as in other parts of New Spain. According to Villa Segnor, the actual ſtate of population in the five dioceſes above mentioned is of Spaniards, negroes, mulattoes, and meſtizos, in the dioceſes of

	Families.
Mexico — — —	105,202
Los Angeles — — —	30,600
Mechoacan — — —	30,840
Oaxaca — — — —	7,296
Nova Galicia — — —	16,770
	190,708

At the rate of five to a family, the total number is 953,540

Indian families in the diocefe of Mexico	119,511
Los Angeles — — —	88,240
Mechoacan — — —	36,196
Oaxaca — — — —	44,222
Nova Galicia — — —	6,222
	294,391

At the rate of five to a family, the total number is 1,471,955. We may rely with greater certainty on this computation of the number of Indians, as it is taken from the *Matricula*, or regifter, according to which the tribute paid by them is collected. As four diocefes of nine are totally omitted, and in that of Nova Galicia the numbers are imperfectly recorded, we may conclude, that the number of Indians in the Mexican empire exceeds two millions.

The account of the number of Spaniards, &c. feems not to be equally complete. Of many places, Villa Segnor obferves in general terms, that feveral Spaniards, negroes, and people of a mixed race, refide there, without fpecifying their number. If, therefore, we make allowance for thefe, and for all who refide in the four diocefes omitted, the number of Spaniards, and of thofe of a mixed race, may probably amount to a million and a half.

half. In ſome places, Villa Segnor diſtinguiſhes between Spaniards and the three inferior races of negroes, mulattoes, and meſtizos, and marks their number ſeparately. But he generally blends them together. But from the proportion obſervable in thoſe places, where the number of each is marked, as well as from the account of the ſtate of population in New Spain by other authors, it is manifeſt that the number of negroes and perſons of a mixed race far exceeds that of Spaniards. Perhaps the latter ought not to be reckoned above 500,000 to a million of the former.

DEFECTIVE as this account may be, I have not been able to procure ſuch intelligence concerning the number of people in Peru, as might enable me to form any conjecture equally ſatisfying with reſpect to the degree of its population. I have been informed, that in the year 1761, the protector of the Indians in the viceroyalty of Peru computed that 612,780 paid tribute to the king. As all females, and perſons under age, are exempted from this tax in Peru, the total number of Indians ought, by that account, to be 2,449,120. MS. *penes me.*

I SHALL mention another mode, by which one may compute, or at leaſt form a gueſs, concerning the ſtate of population in New Spain and Peru. According to an account which I have reaſon to conſider as accurate, the number of copies of the bull of Cruzada, exported to Peru on each new publication, is 1,171,953; to New Spain 2,649,326. I am informed, that but few Indians purchaſe bulls, and that they are ſold chiefly to the Spaniſh inhabitants, and thoſe of mixed race, ſo that the number of Spaniards, and people of a mixed race, will amount by this mode of computation to at leaſt three millions.

The number of inhabitants in many of the towns in Spaniſh America, may give us ſome idea of the extent of population, and correct the inaccurate, but popular notion entertained in Great Britain, concerning the weak and deſolate ſtate of their colonies. The city of Mexico contains at leaſt 150,000 people. Puebla de los Angeles contains above 60,000 Spaniards, and people of a mixed race. Villa Segnor, p. 247. Guadalaxara contains above 30,000, excluſive of Indians. Id. ii. 206. Lima contains 54,000. D. Coſme Bueno Deſcr. de Peru, 1764. Carthagena contains 25,000. Potoſi contains 25,000. Bueno, 1767. Popayan contains above 20,000. Ulloa, i. 287. Towns of a ſecond claſs are ſtill more numerous. The cities in the moſt thriving ſettlements of other European nations in America cannot be compared with theſe.

Such are the detached accounts of the number of people in ſeveral towns, which I found ſcattered in authors whom I thought worthy of credit. But I have obtained an enumeration of the inhabitants of the towns in the province of Quito, on the accuracy of which I can rely; and I communicate it to the Public, both to gratify curioſity, and to rectify the miſtaken notion which I have mentioned. St. Franciſco de Quito contains between 50 and 60,000 people of all the different races. Beſides the city, there are in the *Corregimiento* 29 *curas* or pariſhes eſtabliſhed in the principal villages, each of which has ſmaller hamlets depending upon it. The inhabitants of theſe are moſtly Indians and Meſtizos. St. Juan de Paſto has between 6 and 8000 inhabitants, beſides 27 dependent villages. St. Miguel de Ibarra 7000 citizens, and ten villages. The diſtrict of Havala between 18 and 20,000 people. The diſtrict of Tacunna between 10 and 12,000. The diſtrict of Ambato between 8 and

10,000,

10,000, besides 16 depending villages. The city of Riobamba between 16 and 20,000 inhabitants, and 9 depending villages. The district of Chimbo between 6 and 8000. The city of Guyaquil from 16 to 20,000 inhabitants, and 14 depending villages. The district of Atuasi between 5 and 6000, and 4 depending villages. The city of Cuenza between 25 and 30,000 inhabitants, and 9 populous depending villages. The town of Laxa from 8 to 10,000 inhabitants, and 14 depending villages. This degree of population, though slender, if we consider the vast extent of the country, is far beyond what is commonly supposed. I have omitted to mention, in its proper place, that Quito is the only province in Spanish America that can be denominated a manufacturing country; hats, cotton stuffs, and coarse woollen cloths, are made there in such quantities, as to be sufficient not only for the consumption of the province, but to furnish a considerable article for exportation into other parts of Spanish America. I know not whether the uncommon industry of this province should be considered as the cause or the effect of its populousness. But among the ostentatious inhabitants of the New World, the passion for every thing that comes from Europe is so violent, that I am informed the manufactures of Quito are so much undervalued, as to be on the decline.

NOTE XLVI. p. 260.

THESE are established at the following places. St. Domingo in the island of Hispaniola, Mexico in New Spain, Lima in Peru, Panama in Tierra Firmé, Santiago in Guatimala, Guadalaxara in New Galicia, Santa Fé in the New Kingdom of Granada. La Plata in the country of Los Charcas, St. Francisco de Quito, St. Jago de Chili, Buenos Ayres. To each of these are

ſubjected ſeveral large provinces, and ſome ſo far removed from the cities where the courts are fixed, that they can derive little benefit from their juriſdiction. The Spaniſh writers commonly reckon up twelve courts of Audience, but they include that of Manila in the Philippine Iſlands.

NOTE XLVII. p 268.

ON account of the diſtance of Peru and Chili from Spain, and the difficulty of carrying commodities of ſuch bulk as wine and oil acroſs the iſthmus of Panama, the Spaniards in thoſe provinces have been permitted to plant vines and olives. But they are ſtrictly prohibited from exporting wine or oil to Panama, Guatimala, or any province in ſuch a ſituation as to receive it from Spain. Recop. lib. i. tit. xvii. l. 15–18.

NOTE XLVIII. p. 270.

THIS computation was made by Benzoni, A. D. 1550, fifty-eight years after the diſcovery of America. Hiſt. Novi Orbis, lib. iii. c. 21. But as Benzoni wrote with the ſpirit of a malcontent, diſpoſed to detract from the Spaniards in every particular, it is probable that his calculation is too low.

NOTE XLIX. p 271.

MY information, with reſpect to the diviſion and tranſmiſſion of property in the Spaniſh colonies, is imperfect. The Spaniſh authors do not explain this fully, and have not perhaps attended ſufficiently to the effects of their own inſtitutions and laws. Solorzano de jure Ind. vol. ii. lib. ii. l. 16. explains in ſome meaſure the intro-

duction of the tenure of *Mayorafgo*, and mentions fome of its effects. Villa Segnor takes notice of a fingular confequence of it. He obferves, that in fome of the beft fituations in the city of Mexico, a good deal of ground is unoccupied, or covered only with the ruins of the houfes once erected upon it; and adds, that as this ground is held by right of *Mayorafgo*, and cannot be alienated, that defolation and thofe ruins become perpetual. Theatr. Amer. vol. i. p. 34.

NOTE L. p. 273.

THERE is no law that excludes Creoles from offices either civil or ecclefiaftic. On the contrary, there are many *Cedulas* which recommend the conferring places of truft undifcriminately on the natives of Spain and America. Betancurt y Figueroa Derecho, &c. p. 5, 6. But notwithftanding fuch repeated recommendations, preferment in almoft every different line is conferred on native Spaniards. A remarkable proof of this is produced by the author laft quoted. From the difcovery of America to the year 1637, three hundred and fixty-nine bifhops, or archbifhops, have been appointed to the different diocefes in that country, and of all that number only twelve were Creoles, p. 40. This predilection for Europeans feems ftill to continue. By a royal mandate, iffued in 1776, the chapter of the Cathedral of Mexico is directed to nominate European ecclefiaftics of known merit and abilities, that the King may appoint them to fupply vacant benefices. MS. *penes me.*

NOTE LI. p. 279.

MODERATE as this tribute may appear, such extreme poverty of the Indians in many provinc of America, that the exacting of it is intolerably oppressive. Pegna Itiner. par Parochos de Indios, p. 192.

NOTE LII. p. 280.

IN New Spain, on account of the extraordinary merit and services of the first conquerors, as well as the small revenue arising from the country previous to the discovery of the mines of Sacatecas, the *encomiendas* were granted for three, and sometimes for four lives. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. ii. c. 14, &c.

NOTE LIII. p. 281.

D. Ant. Ulloa contends, that working in mines is not noxious, and as a proof of this informs us, that many Mestizos and Indians, who do not belong to any Repartimiento, voluntarily hire themselves as miners; and several of the Indians, when the legal term of their service expires, continue to work in the mines of choice. *Entreten.* p. 265. But his opinion concerning the wholesomeness of this occupation is contrary to the experience of all ages; and wherever men are allured by high wages, they will engage in any species of labour, however fatiguing or pernicious it may be. D. Hern. Carillo Altemirano relates a curious fact incompatible with this opinion. Wherever mines are wrought, says he, the number of Indians decreases; but in the province of Campeachy, where there are no mines, the number of Indians has

has increaſed more than a third ſince the conqueſt of America, though neither the ſoil nor climate be ſo favourable as in Peru or Mexico. Colbert Collect. In another memorial preſented to Philip III. in the year 1609, Captain Juan Gonzalez de Azevedo aſſerts, that in every diſtrict of Peru, where the Indians are compelled to labour in the mines, their numbers were reduced to the half, and in ſome places to the third, of what it was under the viceroyalty of Don. Fran. Toledo in 1581. Colb. Collect.

NOTE LIV. p. 281.

As labour of this kind cannot be preſcribed with legal accuracy, the taſks ſeem to be in a great meaſure arbitrary, and like the ſervices exacted by feudal ſuperiors, *in vinea prato aut meſſe*, from their vaſſals, are extremely burdenſome, and often wantonly oppreſſive. Pegna Iiner. par Parochos de Indios.

NOTE LV. p. 282.

The turn of ſervice known in Peru by the name of *Mita*, is called *Tanda* in New Spain. There it continues no longer than a week at a time. No perſon is called to ſerve at a greater diſtance from his habitation than 24 miles. This arrangement is leſs oppreſſive to the Indians than that eſtabliſhed in Peru. Memorial of Hern. Carillo Altamirano. Colbert Collect.

NOTE LVI. p. 284.

The ſtrongeſt proof of this may be deduced from the laws themſelves. By the multitude and variety of regulations to prevent abuſes, we may form an idea of their

their number. Though the laws have, wifely, provided that no Indian fhall be obliged to ferve in any mine at a greater diftance from his place of refidence than thirty miles; we are informed in a memorial of D. Hernan Carillo Altamirano prefented to the king, that the Indians of Peru are often compelled to ferve in mines at the diftance of a hundred, a hundred and fifty, and even two hundred leagues from their habitation. Colbert Collect. Many mines are fituated in parts of the country, fo barren, and fo diftant from the ordinary habitations of the Indians, that the neceffity of procuring labourers to work there, has obliged the Spanifh monarchs to difpenfe with their own regulations in feveral inftances, and to permit the viceroys to compel the people of more remote provinces to refort to thofe mines. Efcalona Gazophyl. Perub. lib. i. c. 16. But in juftice to them it fhould be obferved, that they have been ftudious to alleviate this oppreffion as much as poffible, by enjoining the viceroys to employ every method, in order to induce the Indians to fettle in fome part of the country adjacent to the mines. Id. Ibid.

NOTE LVII. p. 289.

TORQUEMADA, after a long enumeration, which has the appearance of accuracy, concludes the number of monafteries in New Spain to be four hundred. Mon. Ind. lib. xix. c. 32. The number of monafteries in the city of Mexico alone was, in the year 1745, fifty-five. Villa-Segnor. Theat. Amer. i. 34. Ulloa reckons up forty convents in Lima; and mentioning thofe for nuns, he fays, that a fmall town might be peopled out of them, the number of perfons fhut up there is fo great. Voy. i. 429. Philip III. in a letter to the viceroy of Peru, A. D. 1620, obferves, that the number of convents

vents in Lima was fo great, that they covered more ground than all the reft of the city. Solorz. lib. iii. c. 23. n. 57. Lib. iii. c. 16. Torquem. lib. xv. c. 3. The firft monaftery in New Spain was founded A. D. 1525, four years only after the conqueft. Torq. lib. xv. c. 16.

According to Gil Gonzalez Davila, the complete eftablifhment of the American church in all the Spanifh fettlements was, in the year 1649, 1 patriarch, 6 archbifhops, 32 bifhops, 346 prebends, 2 abbots, 5 royal chaplains, 840 convents. Teatro Ecclefiaftico de las Ind. Occident. vol. i. Pref. When the order of Jefuits was expelled from all the Spanifh dominions, the colleges, *profeffed* houfes, and refidencies, which it poffeffed in the province of New Spain, were thirty, in Quito fixteen, in the New Kingdom of Granada thirteen, in Peru feventeen, in Chili eighteen, in Paraguay eighteen; in all a hundred and twelve. Colleccion General de Providencias hafta acqui tomadas fobre eftranamento, &c. de la Compagnia, part i. p. 19. The number of Jefuits, priefts and novices in all thefe, amounted to 2245. MS. *penes me.*

In the year 1644, the city of Mexico prefented a petition to the king, praying that no new monaftery might be founded, and that the revenues of thofe already eftablifhed might be circumfcribed, otherwife the religious houfes would foon acquire the property of the whole country. They requeft likewife, that the bifhops might be laid under reftrictions in conferring holy orders, as there were at that time in New Spain above fix thoufand clergymen without any living. Id. p. 16. Thefe abufes muft have been enormous indeed, when the fuperftition of

of American Spaniards was ſhocked, and induced to remonſtrate againſt them.

NOTE LVIII. p. 293.

THIS deſcription of the manners of the Spaniſh clergy, I ſhould not have ventured to give, upon the teſtimony of proteſtant authors alone, as they may be ſuſpected of prejudice or exaggeration. Gage, in particular, who had a better opportunity than any proteſtant, to view the interior ſtate of Spaniſh America, deſcribes the corruption of the church which he had forſaken, with ſo much of the acrimony of a new convert, that I ſhould have diſtruſted his evidence, though it communicates ſome very curious and ſtriking facts. But Benzoni mentions the profligacy of eccleſiaſtics in America at a very early period after their ſettlement there. Hiſt. lib. ii. c. 19, 20. M. Frezier, an intelligent obſerver, and zealous for his own religion, paints the diſſolute manners of the Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics in Peru, particularly the regulars, in ſtronger colours than I have employed. Voy. p. 51. 215, &c. M. Gentil confirms this account, Voy. i. 34. Correal concurs with both, and adds many remarkable circumſtances. Voy. i. 61. 155. 161. I have good reaſon to believe, that the manners of the regular clergy, particularly in Peru, are ſtill extremely indecent. Acoſta himſelf acknowledges that great corruption of manners had been the conſequence of permitting monks to forſake the retirement and diſcipline of the cloiſter, and to mingle again with the world, by undertaking the charge of the Indian pariſhes. De procur. Ind. Salute, lib. iv. c. 13, &c. He mentions particularly thoſe vices, of which I have taken notice, and conſiders the temptations to them as ſo formidable, that he leans to the opinion of thoſe who hold

hold that the regular clergy ſhould not be employed as pariſh prieſts. Lib. v. c. 20. Even the advocates for the regulars admit, that many and great enormities abounded among the monks of different orders, when ſet free from the reſtraint of monaſtic diſcipline; and from the tone of their defence, one may conclude that the charge brought againſt them was not deſtitute of truth. In the French colonies, the ſtate of the regular clergy is nearly the ſame as in the Spaniſh ſettlements, and the ſame conſequences have followed. M. Biet, ſuperior of the ſecular prieſts in Cayenne, inquires with no leſs appearance of piety than of candour, into the cauſes of this corruption, and imputes it chiefly to the exemption of regulars from the juriſdiction and cenſures of their dioceſans; to the temptations to which they are expoſed; and to their engaging in commerce. Voy. p. 320. It is remarkable that all the authors, who cenſure the licentiouſneſs of the Spaniſh regulars with the greateſt ſeverity, concur in vindicating the conduct of the Jeſuits. Formed under a diſcipline more perfect than that of the other monaſtic orders, or animated by that concern for the honour of the ſociety, which takes ſuch full poſſeſſion of every member, the Jeſuits, both in Mexico and Peru, it is allowed, maintained a moſt irreproachable decency of manners. Frezier, 223. Gentil, i. 34. The ſame praiſe is likewiſe due to the biſhops and moſt of the dignified clergy. Frez. ibid.

A VOLUME of the Gazeta de Mexico for the years 1728, 1729, 1730, having been communicated to me, I find there a ſtriking confirmation of what I have advanced concerning the ſpirit of low illiberal ſuperſtition prevalent in Spaniſh America. From the newſpapers of any nation, one may learn what are the objects which chiefly

engroſs its attention, and appear to it moſt intereſting. The Gazette of Mexico is filled almoſt entirely with accounts of religious functions, with deſcriptions of proceſſions, conſecrations of churches, beatifications of ſaints, feſtivals, autos de fe', &c. Civil or commercial affairs, and even the tranſactions of Europe, occupy but a ſmall corner in this magazine of monthly intelligence. From the titles of new books, which are regularly inſerted, it appears that two-thirds of them are treatiſes of ſcholaſtic theology, or of monkiſh devotion.

NOTE LIX. p. 293.

SOLORZANO, after mentioning the corrupt morals of ſome of the regular clergy, with that cautious reſerve, which became a Spaniſh layman, in touching on a ſubject ſo delicate; gives his opinion very explicitly, and with much firmneſs againſt committing parochial charges to monks. He produces the teſtimony of ſeveral reſpectable authors of his country, both divines and lawyers, in confirmation of his opinion. De Jure Ind. ii. lib. iii. c. 16. A ſtriking proof of the alarm excited by the attempt of the Prince d'Eſquilache to exclude the regulars from parochial cures, is contained in the Colbert collection of papers. Several memorials were preſented to the king by the procurators for the monaſtic orders, and replies were made to theſe in name of the ſecular clergy. An eager, and even rancorous, ſpirit is manifeſt on both ſides, in the conduct of this diſpute.

NOTE LX. p. 298.

NOT only the native Indians, but the *Meſtizos*, or children of a Spaniard and Indian, were originally excluded from the prieſthood, and refuſed admiſſion into any

any religious order. But by a law iſſued Sept. 28th, 1588, Philip II. required the prelates of America to ordain ſuch meſtizos born in lawful wedlock, as they ſhould find to be properly qualified, and to permit them to take the vows in any monaſtery where they had gone through a regular noviciate. Recopil. lib. i. tit. vii. l. 7. Some regard ſeems to have been paid to this law in New Spain; but none in Peru. Upon a repreſentation of this to Charles II. in the year 1697, he iſſued a new edict enforcing the obſervation of it, and profeſſing his deſire to have all his ſubjects, Indians and meſtizos as well as Spaniards, admitted to the enjoyment of the ſame privileges. Such, however, was the averſion of the Spaniards in America to the Indians, and their race, that this ſeems to have produced little effect; for, in the year 1725, Philip V. was obliged to renew the injunction in a more peremptory tone. But ſo unſurmountable are the hatred and contempt of the Indians among the Peruvian Spaniards, that the preſent king has been conſtrained to enforce the former edicts anew by a law, publiſhed September 11, 1774. Real Cedula, MS. *penes me.*

NOTE LXI. p. 302.

UZTARIZ, an accurate and cautious calculator, ſeems to admit, that the quantity of ſilver which does not pay duty may be ſtated thus high. According to Herrera, there was not above a third of what was extracted from Potoſi that paid the king's fifth. Dec. viii. lib. ii. c. 15. Solorzano aſſerts likewiſe, that the quantity of ſilver which is fraudulently circulated, is far greater than that which is regularly ſtamped, after paying the fifth. De Ind. jure, vol. ii. lib. v. p. 846.

NOTE

NOTE LXII. p. 306.

WHEN the mines of Potoſi were diſcovered in the year 1545, the veins were ſo near the ſurface, that the ore was eaſily extracted, and ſo rich that it was refined with little trouble and at ſmall expence, merely by the action of fire. This ſimple mode of refining by fuſion alone continued until the year 1574, when the uſe of mercury in refining ſilver, as well as gold, was diſcovered. Thoſe mines having been wrought without interruption for two centuries, the veins are now ſunk ſo deep, that the expence of extracting the ore is greatly increaſed. Beſides this, the richneſs of the ore, contrary to what happens in moſt other mines, has become leſs, as the vein continued to dip, and has diminiſhed to ſuch a degree, that one is amazed that the Spaniards ſhould perſiſt in working it. Other rich mines have been ſucceſſively diſcovered, but in general the value of the ores has decreaſed ſo much, while the expence of extracting them has augmented, that the court of Spain, in the year 1736, reduced the duty payable to the king from a *fifth* to a *tenth*. All the quickſilver uſed in Peru, is extracted from the famous mine of Guancabelica, diſcovered in the year 1563. The crown has reſerved the property of this mine to itſelf; and the perſons who purchaſed the quickſilver, paid not only the price of it, but likewiſe a *fifth*, as a duty to the king. But, in the year 1761, this duty on quickſilver was aboliſhed, on account of the increaſe of expence in working mines. Ulloa, Entretenimientos, xii.—xv. Voyage, i. p. 505. 523. In conſequence of this abolition of the *fifth*, and ſome ſubſequent abatements of price, which became neceſſary on account of the increaſing expence of working mines, quickſilver, which was formerly ſold at eighty peſos the quintal, is now de-

livered

livered by the king at the rate of fixty pefos. Campomanes Educ. Popul. ii. 132, Note. The duty on gold is reduced to a *twentieth*, or five per cent. Any of my readers who are defirous of being acquainted with the mode in which the Spaniards conduct the working of their mines, and the refinement of the ore, will find an accurate defcription of the ancient method by Acofta. Lib. iv. c. 1—13. And of their recent more improvements in the metallurgic art, by Gamboa Comment. a las ordenanz. de minas, c. 22.

NOTE LXIII. p. 309.

MANY remarkable proofs occur of the advanced ftate of induftry in Spain, at the beginning of the fixteenth century. The number of cities in Spain was confiderable, and they were peopled far beyond the proportion that was common in other parts of Europe. The caufes of this I have explained, Hift. of Cha. V. i. 158. Wherever cities are populous, that fpecies of induftry which is peculiar to them increafes, artificers and manufacturers abound. The effect of the American trade in giving activity to thefe is manifeft, from a fingular fact. In the year 1545, while Spain continued to depend on its own induftry, for the fupply of its colonies, fo much work was befpoke from the manufacturers, that it was fuppofed they could hardly finifh it in lefs than fix years. Campom. i. 406. Such a demand muft have put much induftry in motion, and have excited extraordinary efforts. Accordingly, we are informed, that in the beginning of Philip II.'s reign, the city of Seville alone, where the trade with America centered, gave employment to no fewer than 16,000 looms in filk or woollen work, and that above 130,000 perfons had occupation in carrying on thefe

manufactures.

manufactures. Campom. ii. 472. But so rapid and pernicious was the operation of the causes which I shall enumerate, that before Philip III. ended his reign, the looms in Seville were reduced to 400. Uztariz, c. 7.

Since the publication of the first edition, I have the satisfaction to find my ideas concerning the early commercial intercourse between Spain and her colonies confirmed and illustrated by D. Bernardo Ward, of the Junta de Comercio at Madrid, in his *Proyecto Economico*, Part ii. c. 1. "Under the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II." says he, "the manufactures of Spain and of the Low Countries subject to her dominion were in a most flourishing state. Those of France and England were in their infancy. The republic of the United Provinces did not then exist. No European power but Spain had colonies of any value in the New World. Spain could supply her settlements there with the productions of her own soil, the fabrics wrought by the hands of her own artisans, and all she received in return for these belonged to herself alone. Then the exclusion of foreign manufactures was proper, because it might be rendered effectual. Then Spain might lay heavy duties upon goods exported to America, or imported from it, and might impose what restraints she deemed proper upon a commerce entirely in her own hands. But when time and successive revolutions had occasioned an alteration in all those circumstances, when the manufactures of Spain began to decline, and the demands of America were supplied by foreign fabrics, the original maxims and regulations of Spain should have been accommodated to the change in her situation. The policy that was wise at one period, became absurd in the other."

NOTE LXIV. p. 318.

NO bale of goods is ever opened, no cheſt of treaſure is examined. Both are received on the credit of the perſons to whom they belong; and only one inſtance of fraud is recorded, during the long period in which trade was carried on with this liberal confidence. All the coined ſilver which was brought from Peru to Porto-bello in the year 1654, was found to be adulterated, and to be mingled with a fifth part of baſe metal. The Spaniſh merchants with their uſual integrity ſuſtained the whole loſs, and indemnified the foreigners, by whom they were employed. The fraud was detected, and the treaſurer of the revenue in Peru, the author of it, was publicly burnt. B. Ulloa Retabliſ. de Manuf. &c. liv. ii. p. 102.

NOTE LXV. p. 323.

MANY ſtriking proofs occur of the ſcarcity of money in Spain. Of all the immenſe ſums which have been imported from America, the amount of which I ſhall afterwards have occaſion to mention, Moncada aſſerts that there did not remain in Spain, in 1619, above two hundred millions of *peſos*, one half in coined money, the other in plate and jewels. Reſtaur. de Eſpagna, Diſc. iii. c. 1. Uztariz, who publiſhed his valuable work in 1724, contends, that in money, plate, and jewels, there did not remain a hundred million. Theor. &c. c. 3. Campomanes, on the authority of a remonſtrance from the community of merchants in Toledo to Philip III. relates, as a certain proof how ſcarce caſh had become, that perſons who lent money, received a third part of the ſum which they advanced as intereſt and premium. Educ. Popul. i. 417.

NOTE LXVI. p. 326.

THE account of the mode in which the factors of the South Sea Company conducted the trade in the fair of Porto-bello, which was opened to them by the Assiento, I have taken from Don Dion. Alcedo y Herrera, president of the court of Audience in Quito, and governor of that province. Don Dionysio was a person of such a respectable character for probity and discernment, that his testimony, in any point, would be of much weight; but greater credit is due to it in this case, as he was an eye-witness of the transactions which he relates, and was often employed in detecting and authenticating the frauds which he describes. It is probable, however, that his representation being composed at the commencement of the war which broke out between Great Britain and Spain, in the year 1739, may, in some instances, discover a portion of the acrimonious spirit, natural at that juncture. His detail of facts is curious; and even English authors confirm it in some degree, by admitting both that various frauds were practised in the transactions of the annual ship, and that the contraband trade from Jamaica, and other British colonies, was become enormously great. But for the credit of the English nation it may be observed, that those fraudulent operations are not to be considered as deeds of the company, but as the dishonourable arts of their factors and agents. The company itself sustained a considerable loss by the Assiento trade. Many of its servants acquired immense fortunes. Anderson Chronol. deduct. ii. 388.

NOTE

NOTE LXVII. p. 333.

SEVERAL facts with refpect to the inftitution, the progrefs, and the effects, of this company, are curious, and but little known to Englifh readers. Though the province of Venezuela, or Caraccas, extends four hundred miles along the coaft, and is one of the moft fertile in America; it was fo much neglected by the Spaniards, that during the twenty years prior to the eftablifhment of the company, only five fhips failed from Spain to that province; and during 16 years, from 1706 to 1722, not a fingle fhip arrived from the Caraccas in Spain. Noticias de Real Compania de Caraccas, p. 28. During this period Spain muft have been fupplied almoft entirely with the large quantity of cacao, which it confumes, by foreigners. Before the erection of the company, neither tobacco nor hides were imported from Caraccas into Spain. Id. p. 117. But fince the commercial operations of the company began in the year 1731, the importation of cacao into Spain has increafed amazingly. During thirty years fubfequent to 1701, the number of *Fanegas* of cacao (each a hundred and ten pounds) imported from Caraccas, was 643,215. During eighteen years fubfequent to 1731, the number of *Fanegas* imported was 869,247; and if we fuppofe the importation to be continued in the fame proportion during the remainder of thirty years, it will amount to 1,448,746 *Fanegas*, which is an increafe of 805,531 *Fanegas*. Id. p. 148. During eight years fubfequent to 1756, there has been imported into Spain by the Company, 88,482 *arrobas* (each twenty-five pounds) of tobacco; and hides to the number of 177,354. Id. 161. Since the publication of the Noticias de Campania, in 1765, its trade feems to be on the increafe. During five years fubfequent

to 1769, it has imported 179,156 Fanegas of cacao into Spain, 36,208 arrobas of tobacco, 75,496 hides, and 221,432 pesos in specie. Campomanes, ii. 162. The last article is a proof of the growing wealth of the colony. It receives cash from Mexico in return for the cacao, with which it supplies that province, and this it remits to Spain, or lays out in purchasing European goods. But, besides this, the most explicit evidence is produced, that the quantity of cacao raised in the province is double to what it yielded in 1731; the number of its live-stock is more than treble, and its inhabitants much augmented. The revenue of the bishop, which arises wholly from tythes, has increased from eight to twenty thousand pesos. Notic. p. 69. In consequence of the augmentation of the quantity of cacao imported into Spain, its price has decreased from eighty pesos for the fanega to forty. Id. 61. Since the publication of the first edition, I have learned that Guyana, including all the extensive provinces situated on the banks of the Orinoco, the islands of Trinidad and Margarita are added to the countries with which the company of Caraccas had liberty of trade by their former charters. Real Cedula, Nov. 19, 1776. But I have likewise been informed, that the institution of this company has not been attended with all the beneficial effects which I have ascribed to it. In many of its operations the illiberal and oppressive spirit of monopoly is conspicuous. But in order to explain this, it would be necessary to enter into minute details, which are not suited to the nature of this work.

NOTE LXVIII. p. 340.

THIS first experiment made by Spain of opening a free trade with any of her colonies, has produced effects so remarkable, as to merit some farther illustration. The

towns to which this liberty has been granted, are Cadiz and Seville, for the province of Andalusia; Alicant and Carthagena, for Valencia and Murcia; Barcelona, for Catalonia and Arragon; Santander, for Castile; Corugna, for Galicia; and Gijon, for Asturias. Append. ii. à la educ. popul. p. 41. These are either the ports of chief trade in their respective districts, or those most conveniently situated for the exportation of their respective productions. The following facts give a view of the increase of trade in the settlements to which the new regulations extend. Prior to the allowance of free trade, the duties collected in the custom-house at the Havannah were computed to be 104,208 pesos annually. During the five years preceding 1774, they rose at a medium to 308,000 pesos a year. In Yucatan, the duties have risen from 8,000 to 15,000. In Hispaniola, from 2,500 to 5,600. In Porto-Rico, from 1,200 to 7,000. The total value of goods imported from Cuba into Spain, was reckoned, in 1774, to be 1,500,000 pesos. Educ. Popul. i. 450, &c.

NOTE LXIX. p. 346.

THE two Treatises of Don Pedro Rodriguez Campomanes, *Fiscal del real consejo y Supremo* (an office in rank and power nearly similar to that of Attorney General in England), and Director of the Royal Academy of History, the one intitled Discurso sobre el Fomento de la Industria Popular; the other, Discurso sobre la Educacion Popular de los Artesanos y su Fomento; the former published in 1774, and the latter in 1775, afford a striking proof of this. Almost every point of importance with respect to interior police, taxation, agriculture, manufactures, and trade, domestic as well as foreign, is

 examined

examined in the courſe of theſe works; and there are not many authors, even in the nations moſt eminent for commercial knowledge, who have carried on their inquiries with a more thorough knowledge of thoſe various ſubjects, and a more perfect freedom from vulgar and national prejudices, or who have united more happily the calm reſearches of philoſophy, with the ardent zeal of a public-ſpirited citizen. Theſe books are in high eſtimation among the Spaniards, and it is a deciſive evidence of the progreſs of their own ideas, that they are capable of reliſhing an author whoſe ſentiments are ſo liberal.

NOTE LXX. p. 351.

THE galeon employed in that trade, inſtead of the ſix hundred tons, to which it is limited by law, Recop. lib. xlv. l. 15. is commonly from twelve hundred to two thouſand tons burden. The ſhip from Acapulco, taken by Lord Anſon, inſtead of the 500,000 peſos permitted by law, had on board 1,313,843 peſos, beſides uncoined ſilver equal in value to 43,611 peſos more. Anſon's Voyage, 384.

NOTE LXXI. p. 353.

THE price paid for the bull varies according to the rank of different perſons. Thoſe in the loweſt order, who are ſervants or ſlaves, pay two reals of plate, or one ſhilling; other Spaniards pay eight reals, and thoſe in public office, or who hold encomiendas, ſixteen reals. Solorz. de jure Ind. vol. ii. lib. iii. c. 25. According to Chilton, an Engliſh merchant who reſided long in the Spaniſh ſettlements, the bull of Cruzado bore an higher price in the year 1570, being then ſold for four reals at the loweſt. Hackluyt, iii. 461. The price ſeems to have

varied

varied at different periods. That exacted for the bulls iſſued in the laſt *Predicacion*, will appear from the enſuing table, which will give ſome idea of the proportional numbers of the different claſſes of citizens in New Spain and Peru.

There were iſſued for New Spain,

Bulls at 10 peſos each - - -	4
at 2 peſos each - -	22,601
at 1 peſo each - -	164,220
at 2 reals each - -	2,462,500
	2,649,325

For Peru,

at 16 peſos 4½ reals each -	3
at 3 peſos, 3 reals each -	14,202
at 1 peſo, 5½ reals -	78,822
at 4 reals - -	410,325
at 3 reals - -	668,601
	1,171,953

NOTE LXXII. p. 354.

AS Villa Segnor, to whom we are indebted for this information, was accomptant-general in one of the moſt conſiderable departments of the royal revenue, and by that means had acceſs to proper information, his teſtimony with reſpect to this point merits great credit. No ſuch accurate detail of the Spaniſh revenues in any part of America, has hitherto been publiſhed in the Engliſh language, and the particulars of it may appear curious and intereſting to ſome of my readers.

FROM the bull of Cruzada, published every two years, there arises an annual revenue in pesos	150,000
From the duty on silver - -	700,000
From the duty on gold - -	60,000
From tax on cards - -	70,000
From tax on Pulque, a drink used by the Indians - - -	161,000
From tax on stamped paper -	41,000
From ditto on ice - -	15,522
From ditto on leather - -	2,500
From ditto on gunpowder - -	71,550
From ditto on salt - -	32,000
From ditto on copper of Mechocan -	1,000
From ditto on alum - -	6,500
From ditto on Juego de los gallos -	21,100
From the half of ecclesiastical annats -	49,000
From royal ninth of bishopricks, &c.	68,800
From the tribute of Indians -	650,000
From Alcavala, or duty on sale of goods	721,875
From the Almajorifasgo, custom-house	373,333
From the mint - -	357,500
	3,552,680

THIS sum amounts to 819,161l. Sterling; and if we add to it the profit accruing from the sale of 5000 quintals of quicksilver, imported from the mines of Almaden, in Spain, on the king's account, and what accrues from the *Averia*, and some other taxes which Villa Segnor does not estimate, the public revenue in New Spain may well be reckoned above a million pounds sterling money. Theat. Mex. vol. i. p. 38, &c. According to Villa Segnor, the total produce of the Mexican mines, amounts at a medium to eight millions of pesos in silver annually, and to 5912 marks of gold. Ib. p. 44. Several branches of the

the revenue have been explained in the courſe of the hiſtory; ſome, which there was no occaſion of mentioning, require a particular illuſtration. The right to the *tythes* in the New World, is veſted in the crown of Spain, by a bull of Alexander VI. Charles V. appointed them to be applied in the following manner: One fourth is allotted to the biſhop of the dioceſe, another fourth to the dean and chapter, and other officers of the cathedral. The remaining half is divided into nine equal parts. Two of theſe, under the denomination of *los dos Novenos reales*, are paid to the crown, and conſtitute a branch of the royal revenue. The other ſeven parts are applied to the maintenance of the parochial clergy, the building and ſupport of churches, and other pious uſes. Recopil. lib. i. tit. xvi. Ley. 23, &c. Avendano Theſaur. Indic. vol. i. p. 184.

THE *Alcavala* is a duty levied by an exciſe on the ſale of goods. In Spain, it amounts to ten per cent. In America, to four per cent. Solorzano Polit. Indiana, lib. vi. c. 8. Avendano, vol. i. 186.

THE *Almajorifaſgo*, or cuſtom paid in America on goods imported and exported, may amount on an average to fifteen per cent. Recopil. lib. viii. tit. xiv. Ley. 1. Avendano, vol. i. 188.

THE *Averia*, or tax paid on account of convoys to guard the ſhips ſailing to and from America, was firſt impoſed when Sir Francis Drake filled the New World with terror by his expedition to the South Sea. It amounts to two per cent. on the value of goods. Avendano, vol. i. p. 189. Recopil. lib. ix. tit. ix. Ley. 43, 44.

I HAVE

I HAVE not been able to procure any accurate detail of the ſeveral branches of revenue in Peru, later than the year 1614. From a curious manuſcript, containing a ſtate of that vice-royalty in all its departments, preſented to the Marquis of Montes-Claros, by Fran. Lopez Caravantes, accomptant-general in the tribunal of Lima, it appears, that the public revenue, as nearly as I can compute the value of the money in which Caravantes ſtates his accounts, that the revenue collected, amounted in ducats at 4s. 11d., to - - 2,372,768

Expences of government -	1,242,992
Net free revenue	1,129,776

The total in ſterling money -	£. 583,303
Expences of government -	305,568
Net free revenue	277,735

BUT ſeveral articles appear to be omitted in this computation, ſuch as the duty on ſtamped paper, leather, eccleſiaſtical annats, &c. ſo that the revenue of Peru may be well ſuppoſed equal to that of Mexico.

IN computing the expence of government in New Spain, I may take that of Peru as a ſtandard. There the annual eſtabliſhment for defraying the charge of adminiſtration, exceeds one half of the revenue collected, and there is no reaſon for ſuppoſing it to be leſs in New Spain.

I HAVE obtained a calculation of the total amount of the public revenue of Spain from America and the Philip-

pines,

pines, which, as the reader will perceive from the two laſt articles, is more recent than any of the former.

Alcavalas (Exciſe) and Aduanas (Cuſtoms), &c. in peſos fuertes -	2,500,000
Duties on gold and ſilver -	3,000,000
Bull of Cruzada - -	1,000,000
Tribute of the Indians -	2,000,000
By ſale of quickſilver - -	300,000
Paper exported on the king's account, and ſold in the royal warehouſes -	300,000
Stamped paper, tobacco, and other ſmall duties - - -	1,000,000
Duty on coinage of, at the rate of one real de la Plata for each mark -	300,000
From the trade of Acapulco, and the coaſting trade from province to province	500,000
Aſſiento of negroes - - -	200,000
From the trade of *Mathé*, or herb of Paraguay, formerly monopolized by the Jeſuits - - -	500,000
From other revenues formerly belonging to that order - -	400,000
Total	12,000,000
Total in ſterling money	£. 2,700,000
Deduct half, as the expence of adminiſtration, and there remains net free revenue - -	£. 1,350,000

NOTE

NOTE LXXIII. p. 354.

AN author, long converſant in commercial ſpeculation, has computed, that from the mines of New Spain alone, the king receives annually, as his fifth, the ſum of two millions of our money. Harris Collect. of Voy. ii. p. 164. According to this calculation, the total produce of the mines muſt be ten millions ſterling; a ſum ſo exorbitant, and ſo little correſponding with all accounts of the annual importation from America, that the information on which it is founded muſt evidently be erroneous. According to Campomanes, the total product of the American mines may be computed at thirty millions of peſos, which, at four ſhillings and ſixpence a peſo, amounts to 7,425,000l. ſterling, the king's fifth of which (if that were regularly paid) would be 1,485,000l. But from this ſum the expence of adminiſtration is to be deducted, which is very conſiderable, as appears from the preceding note. Educ. Popular, vol. ii. p. 131. note.

NOTE LXXIV. p. 355.

ACCORDING to Bern. de Ulloa, all foreign goods exported from Spain to America pay duties of various kinds, amounting in all to more than 25 per cent. As moſt of the goods with which Spain ſupplies her colonies are foreign; ſuch a tax upon a trade ſo extenſive muſt yield a conſiderable revenue. Retabliſ. de Manuf. & du Commerce d'Eſp. p. 150. He computes the value of goods exported annually from Spain to America, to be about two millions and a half ſterling, p. 97.

NOTE

NOTE LXXV. p. 357.

THE Marquis de Serralvo, according to Gage, by a monopoly of falt, and by embarking deeply in the Manila trade as well as that to Spain, gained annually a million of ducats. In one year he remitted a million of ducats to Spain, in order to purchafe from the Condè Olivares, and his creatures, a prolongation of his government, p. 61. He was fuccefsful in his fuit, and continued in office from 1624 to 1635, double the ufual time.

SHORT ACCOUNT

OF

What is contained in the LETTER sent to the EMPEROR, mentioned Preface, p. xi, xii.

THIS letter is dated July 6th, 1519. Cortes in his second dispatch takes notice that it was sent off on the 16th of July.

THE great object of the persons who wrote this letter, is to justify their own conduct in establishing a colony independent on the jurisdiction of Velasquez. With this view they endeavoured to detract from his merit, in fitting out the two former armaments under Cordava and Grijalva, representing these as equipped by the adventurers who engaged in the expedition, not by the governor. They labour likewise to depreciate the services of Cordova and Grijalva, in order to exalt the merit of their own exploits.

THEY contend, that the sole object of Velasquez was to trade or barter with the natives, not to attempt the conquest of New Spain, or the establishment of a colony there. This is frequently mentioned

mentioned by B. Diaz del Caſtillo, c. 19. 41, 42, &c. But if Velaſquez had not conqueſt and ſettlement in view, there ſeems to have been no reaſon for equipping ſuch a conſiderable armament.

THEY aſſert, that Cortes defrayed the greateſt part of the expence of fitting out the armament. But this does not agree with the account of his ſlender fortune given by Gomara, Cron. c. 7. and B. Diaz, c. 20. or what I have mentioned Note lxxi. vol. ii.

THEY take notice, that though conſiderable numbers were wounded in their different encounters with the people of Tabaſco, not one of them died, and all recovered in a ſhort time. This ſeems to confirm what I have obſerved vol. ii. p. 263, concerning the imperfection of the offenſive weapons of the Americans.

THEY give ſome account of the manners and inſtitutions of the Mexicans. It is very ſhort, and as they had reſided but a ſhort time in the country, and had but little intercourſe with the natives, it is both defective and inaccurate. They deſcribe minutely, and with great horror, the human ſacrifices offered by the Mexicans to their deities, and affirm that ſome of their number were eye-witneſſes of thoſe barbarous rites.

THEY

They ſubjoin to their letter a catalogue and deſcription of the preſents ſent to the emperor. That publiſhed by Gomara, Cron. c. 29. ſeems to have been copied from it, and Pet. Martyr deſcribes many of the articles in his treatiſe De Inſulis nuper inventis, p. 354, &c.

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